

191
5-29-69

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SUBJECT POLITICAL ITEMS--ARGENTINA

(FOR INFORMATION DIGEST)

From ARGENTINA

No. 2940

Date January 11 19 23

Replying to No. Date 19

RECEIVED 8/9 W.D. FEB 13 1923

3110: Present Executive and
Ministry.

Outstanding personalities.

Dr. Angel Gallardo, who was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs by President Alvear when he assumed office on October 12, arrived in Buenos Aires from Rome on December 23, took the oath of office on December 27, and assumed charge of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on December 28.

Dr. Gallardo has a very pleasant personality and expressed his regret that he had never been able to visit the United States----in the course of a conversation-----but said that he hoped to carry on the traditions of cordial friendship existing between his country and the United States.

3310: Present Legislature.

Political composition, majority and minority parties.

The National Congress was convened on December 4 and a quorum was present in the Chamber of Deputies, but no session was held in the Senate owing to the absence of most of the Senators. On several succeeding days no quorum was available in the Senate and as the Constitution requires that both Chambers should begin and end their sessions at the same time, the attitude of the Senate caused a postponement of the sessions of the lower house. The political controversy between the Senators of the different groups would seem to be largely responsible for the legislative stalemate which went on during the whole month of December, and at the present writing the conflict shows no signs of diminishing.

At one of the few sessions held the diplomas of the two Senators from the Province of Catamarca were confirmed, and the two senators took their seats. No action has as yet been taken in regard to the diplomas of the two Senators from Jujuy. The Senators of the Irigoyen faction are insistent that these diplomas be confirmed, and it is believed that the obstructive tactics of this group are largely responsible for the continued lack of quorum. The Conservative and certain independent radical Senators insist that the Jujuy senatorial elections were illegal and a ground of compromise has not yet been found.

The press is practically unanimous in condemnation of the obstructionist tactics pursued by a minority of the Senate, and strongly urges the Senate to be more mindful of its duty to the country, and to take account of the serious financial situation of the Government brought about by the lack of a budget.

3320: Policies and Plans.

Accord or disagreement with Executive.

On December 20th all the Cabinet Ministers attended a session of the Chamber and the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Matienzo made a speech in regard to the policy which the Executive intended to pursue in co-ordinating executive and legislative functions. Dr. Matienzo, the Minister, said that the Ministers would attend all session of Congress at which their presence was desired, or at which they considered that their presence was necessary in order to supply Congress with information, and that the Ministers wished to do everything possible to aid the legislators in their work.

3600: Political Issues and Problems

Economic and political.

The Minister of Finance, Dr. Herrera Vegas, on December 20th answered an interpellation regarding the Government's reasons for maintaining the gold export prohibition regulations, and said that for the present the Government did not consider that the embargo on gold exports should be raised in view of the troubled state of the world's finances.

The interpellation included the Government's reasons for maintaining the suspension of gold payments by the conversion office, and it appears evident that both the Government and the majority of the Chamber of Deputies are in favor of maintaining the present regulations governing gold payments. It would further appear that the Government's attitude in this matter is approved by the majority of the business and financial communities.

3800: Foreign Affairs---General.

Recent and current trend towards active participation in international politics.

On December 14, 1922 the Argentine Government received the invitation of the Chilean Government to take part in the 5th Panamerican Congress which will be held in Santiago on March 25, 1923.

Under date of Dec. 16, 1922 a cordial acceptance was sent to Chile via the Chargé d'Affaires in Buenos Aires, communicating further that the Argentine delegation would be a numerous one.

From December 4th to 8th various notes were exchanged between Brazil, Argentina and Chile regarding limitation of armaments. Brazil issued the invitation to Argentina and Chile to discuss the matter in Valparaiso before the sessions of the Panamerican Congress. Argentina accepted this invitation most willingly, and stated that the Argentine Government will do everything to maintain harmony in America.

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SUBJECT ASSASSINATION OF LIEUT. COLONEL VARELA---ARGENTINE

ARMY.

From ARGENTINA

No. 2954

Date January 22, 1923

Replying to No.

Date 19

Lieut. Colonel Hector B. Varela was killed on January 25 at the hands of an anarchist, a dynamite bomb and revolver shots ending the life of one of Argentina's most brilliant army men. His murderer was a German named Kurt Wilckens.

Tragic in its briefness, the murder took place while the majority of the inhabitants of the city were going to their places of business, and the news of the terrorist outrage swept over the city with express speed, leaving people dumb-founded at the act which had sent a gallant soldier to his death.

Lieut. Colonel Varela lived with his family at Calle Fitz Roy, in the district of Palermo, city of Buenos Aires and according to his customs left his house for the Cavalry School of which he was Director. A short distance from his residence a man dashed out of the doorway where he had been lying in wait, and threw a bomb at the pavement in front of the unsuspecting victim. The infernal machine on exploding nearly tore away one of the unfortunate officer's legs. As he fell he endeavored to draw his sword, but failed, and then his assailant standing calmly by a tree and taking careful aim, poured six shots into the dying man's back, all of them with fatal effect.

2657-L-30
The murderer gave himself up without resistance, and on being questioned, Wilckens said that he had determined to take the life of his victim for the latter's stern measures in Santa Cruz. As reported in #2592, Nov. 21, 1921, #2619, December 19, 1921 and 2636, Jan. 2, 1922 Colonel Varela commanded the Army forces entrusted with the mission of putting an end to the Bolshevik outrages in the territory of Santa Cruz.

2657-L-30
The late Lieut. Col. Hector B. Varela had a long and distinguished record. He entered the army in 1895, and ten years later with the rank of a 1st Lieut. (cavalry) took part in the 1905 revolution. Stationed at Mendoza, he was one of the principal figures in the movement in that Province, and was named aide-de-camp of the head of the Revolution, Sr. Juan Nestor Leminas. Together with his chief he went to Chile when the movement was put down. When the general amnesty was declared Varela returned from Valparaiso, where he had been living in exile. He re-entered the army, and was soon promoted to the grade of captain (1906). He became a major in 1913, and a Lieut. Colonel in 1918, and was appointed commander of the recently created Regiment 10 of Cavalry.

Knowing the strong determined nature of Lt. Colonel Varela the then President of the Republic Dr. Hipolito

Irigoyen, called upon him to quell the disturbances in Patagonia in the 1930 outbreak, and there Colonel Varela met with success, it being said to his credit that not one drop of blood was split in putting an end to the lawlessness characteristic of the region.

A year later trouble broke out again in the South, and once more Col. Varela was sent for, this time being given strict instructions to proceed against the bandits without mercy, and to pacify the affected regions. On arrival in Patagonia he proceeded in accordance with military dictates to stamp out the uprising, which at one time assumed all the appearances of a revolution. The Labour Party newspapers at the time commenced a campaign against him, and it is stated that his life was openly threatened in some anarchist sheets.

Wilckens in his self-assumed role of avenger, is supposed to have obtained some of the more daring papers, and to have eagerly drunk in their contents, the crime which shocked all Buenos Aires being the outcome. Wilckens had followed his victim for ten months, but never found an opportunity to carry out his plan because Colonel Varela was usually accompanied by his children or friends, and Wilckens did not wish to endanger innocent people.

Kurt Wilckens escaped on December 24, 1917 from the internment camp for civilians at Fort Douglas, Utah according to the records of the Department of Justice. After escaping from Fort Douglas he was recaptured, and in March 1920 he was deported from the United States as being an undesirable alien who advocated the unlawful destruction of property. Cuttings from American newspapers were found on his person describing him as "the most dangerous Red in the West". Wilckens arrived in Buenos Aires on September 23, 1920 with proper police credentials issued at Bad Bronstedt, Germany, where he had been employed as a metal worker.

Colonel Varela's funeral gave rise to an impressive ceremony. His body lay in state at the Circulo Militar, and a prodigious mass of wreaths and tributes were piled up against the bier. The President of the Republic, Dr. Alvear, the ex-President, Dr. Hipolito Irigoyen, ex-Cabinet Ministers, Vice-President of the Republic and Minister of War attended, in addition to army representatives and many thousands of civilians.

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By authority of Dec. 13,
1962, from 1962 to Archivist
By 5-29-69
Date

2657-2-63

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SUBJECT POLITICAL ITEMS----ARGENTINA

(FOR INFORMATION DIGEST)

From ARGENTINA

No. 2923

Date April 13

19 23

Replying to No.

Date MAY 4 1923

19

3800: Foreign Affairs-General.

Recent and current trend towards active participation in international politics.

The Fifth Pan American Conference now being held in Santiago was not given much space in the public press prior to the opening of its sessions. It was pretty well understood that the Argentine delegation would go there very well prepared to put forward certain plans favorable to the interests of the Republic.

The Minister of Agriculture was reported to have stated confidentially that he was skeptical as to the results of the conference as it was just the moment when Peru and Chile were in arbitration over their long-standing Tacna-Arica dispute, and also that Bolivia did not seem to be taking a great interest in the outcome of the Conference. The fact that Brazil's proposition for a prior A.B.C. Conference to discuss the limitation of armaments was refused was also advanced as an unfavorable condition of affairs.

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SUBJECT... PRESIDENT ALVEAR'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS ON INAUGURATION
OF CONGRESS, MAY 7, 1923. (ARMY AND NAVY CHAPTERS)
(For Information Digest)

From... ARGENTINA

No. 3147 Date May 8 19 23

Replying to No. Date JUN 6 1923 19

3110: Present Executive.

Executive policies and methods.

The following is a translation of that part of the President's message to Congress which referred to the Argentine Army and Navy.

"One of my plans, when I took over the Executive Power regarding the War Department was to devote more attention to the advancement of the armed institutions of the country.

"During the short time elapsed since then it has not been possible to realize, except in part, the studies required for the solution of the different questions involved. The result of these studies will be submitted to your consideration in the form of bills during the early sessions of the present period.

"Speaking of military preparedness, the message states that the limitation of army appropriations has been achieved to the detriment of the training of troops, rendering the accomplishment of their programmes of instruction impossible, as well as the more serious lack of opportunity for commanders to exercise their multiple difficult functions. In this connection, it is worthy of note that war has shown the need of several months' time for the instruction of soldiers, and commanders can only be instructed in one way: by assiduous and constant work in time of peace.

"Regarding military laws, the message says that for the Nation's defence all the people should have a part. The youth of the country should be physically prepared to be able to withstand the fatigues of the intensive military instruction imposed by their short service in the army; it is also necessary that citizens who are not incorporated into the peace army be submitted to physical training which will enable them to be transformed into useful elements for defence in case of mobilization. Further, in this respect a better distribution of the burden which the citizen carries must be made. The new law which the Executive Power hopes to present in this session of Congress covers the points previously mentioned.

"The modification of tables of cadres and promotions will also be proposed, not only concerning officers, but the non-commissioned officers as well. The preponderance of automatic arms, and the new technical elements incorporated into the army, such as wireless, aviation, etc., and the complexity of the new forms of warfare, exact a personnel of technical and professional noncommissioned officers which can only be obtained by improving their position, and the reward of

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3110: Present Executive

their services with the consequent improvement in their morale. This last condition will also insure the correct treatment of the citizen joining the army. This point will only be modified substantially when the personnel of noncommissioned officers has the requisite civil and moral education.

"Respecting matériel for the army," the message says that "it is of fundamental importance for the efficiency of the same. However, it is essential to state that the present condition of the matériel does not respond to the improvements made by the industry. It is very far from being equivalent to that possessed by the greater part of South American nations.

"The Executive Power has said and repeats that it is far from its intention to enter into an armaments' competition which nothing justifies in this part of the universe. The cordiality of relations with all nations, the traditional policy which has always reigned, and will reign in the future over the international relations of our country, and the ambition of the Argentine people to dedicate all their efforts to work for the greatness of their country, and to create for themselves and for the people who reside here the greatest possible welfare, excludes absolutely a competition of armaments with other countries. But this cannot be an obstacle for the Nation to have the necessary elements for its defence. It is essential for the security of the nation, which if based on its own respect towards foreigners, and the good faith with which they respond to the fraternal friendship of the Argentine people, should also possess the greatest guarantee of its own capacity to make this respect effective.

"Since before 1911 war materials have not been purchased. Their radical transformation since that time, makes necessary a total renewal of those in service. This must be undertaken starting with the absolutely necessary materials and with the idea outlined above.

"This is perhaps one of the questions which the Honorable Chamber will be called upon to solve with the greatest urgency, as much for the reasons above expressed as for lack of corresponding armament it means that a good part of instruction given the soldier is lost, and in consequence the sacrifice made for his country is sterile. The system of obligatory service for every soldier who enters the reserve without knowing the matériel which he may be called upon to use, is but a combatant less for mobilization.

"It is the desire of the Executive Power to express satisfaction for the excellent discipline of the Army. Also greater importance has been attributed to living conditions of the soldier, improving the part relative to rations and clothing, and encouraging the construction of barracks authorized by Congress.

"The Executive Power announces that shortly, and as a result of the transformation in methods of warfare, a new peace organization will be given the army, and new regulations for all arms and services established. The total transformation that the Army must undergo in this respect, and the new materials to be purchased will make it necessary to call up part of the reserves established by the present laws, and greater attention must be devoted to the final exercises and manoeuvres, which, due to well known causes, have taken place in an absolutely insufficient manner up to the present.

The Navy.

3110: Present Executive

"The government and exploitation of the branch of national defence will be attended to with the greatest care; old matériel will be modernised and adapted as well as possible for new uses, to the end that the needs of the service may be fully met. Taking into account our important commercial position, it becomes necessary to increase our transport services and foment all ways possible the increase of our mercantile marine, because as well as fluvial, by means of laws and rules both initiative and protective.

"The enthusiasm and patriotism of the personnel of the Navy are all that can be desired, but in treating of the members of a profession who need to be in constant action in order to be ready at the time of trial, frequent opportunities are needed for the practice of navigation and other activities of naval action.

"The members of a profession who need to be in constant action as stated above are sent on voyages as a first measure. Thus the naval department was to send the second division of the squadron on a voyage to the south, down the Patagonian coast and through the Straits of Magellan this year, and this was done.

"The frigate *President Sarmiento*, in use as a naval school left again a short time ago in order to effect one of its numerous voyages of instruction.

"The examination of our oceanic coasts is being continued by our marine officials, who are constantly enriching Argentine geography with works, both hydrographic and oceanographic of incalculable importance.

"The illumination of our coasts is also being carefully attended to, in order that navigation and access to ports may be facilitated in every way.

"One of the ships of our Navy recently made an interesting voyage to the Polar regions in order to relieve the personnel of the Orkney Islands, the site of an Argentine observatory where for the last 21 years meteorological observations have been carried on of the utmost merit and importance.

"The administrative direction of the Navy has been reorganized in order that it should correspond with the importance of that branch of the service, and to the end that officials, both of the army and the navy should avail themselves of the autonomy conferred upon them by Law No.3305."

M.A.'S NOTE: For the President's complete message to Congress May 7, 1923 see same attached to this report original copy only.

Report #3147, May 8, 1923

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SUBJECT POLITICAL---ARGENTINA

(FOR INFORMATION DIGEST)

From ARGENTINA

No. 3154

Date May 24, 1933

Replying to No.

Date JUN 16 1923

3820: Principal Foreign Policies.

General aims and objectives.

The results of the Fifth Pan American Conference are looked upon, for the most part, with optimism by the people of the Argentine, but there is a slight undercurrent of distrust of Brazil and even of Chile, which is evidenced in the press comments to the effect that Brazil and Chile have assumed an attitude at the Assembly which has not been borne out by their activities outside of the Conference, and that both of these nations left Argentina in the dark as to their intentions.

3600: Political Issues and Problems.

Relation to international affairs; leading personages involved.

The proposed meeting of the four Presidents is viewed with but mild interest in Argentina. It is understood that the meeting of the Presidents of Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay is the result of a proposal made unofficially by President Alessandri to Dr. Alvear, who supported it in principle, but with the distinct understanding that the conference would be regarded in no way connected with the Pan American Conference or complementary thereto, and that none of the subjects on the agenda of that Conference would be discussed; that the interview would be merely an act of cordiality and international friendship, a further evidence of amity between these countries which should also connect their chief mandates.

#3154, May 24, 1923.

Referral to Investigations

3210: Present Legislature.

Leading personalities.

On April 26th the Chamber of Deputies re-elected its President and Vice-Presidents for the new ordinary period of session which was inaugurated on May 7th. Those elected were: Colonel Ricardo Pereyra Rozas, President.
Señor Alberto Carosini, First Vice-President
Señor Santiago E. Corvalan, Second Vice-President.

On the same date the Senate also elected its First and Second Vice Presidents in the persons of Dr. Leopoldo Melo and Dr. Fernando Saguer, the Vice President of the Republic, Dr. Elpidio González, being "ex officio" President of the Senate.

#3154, May 24, 1923.

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CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED
By authority of Dec. 13,
1963, from TAGSO to Archivist.
By 7/3-29-69
Date 7/3-29-69

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SUBJECT... POLITICAL ----- ARGENTINA

(FOR INFORMATION DIGEST)

From... ARGENTINA

No... 3164

Date... June 12 c. 19 23

RECEIVED G. 2 W. JUL 17 1923

Replying to No.

Date... 19 '1

3110: Present Executive.

Political affiliations, prestige and influence.

President Alvear the nominal but not the real head of the Radical Party has announced his intention of running the Government strictly according to his constitutional rights and has intimated as much to ex-President Irigoyen, the real head of the part, and would-be power behind the throne.

In political circles it is still a question whether President Alvear will have the strength of will and sufficient support to carry out his plans despite intrigues and opposition.

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3600: Political Issues and Problems

Economic and political.

Argentina's relations with her neighbors may be outlined as follows:

With Chile Argentina was more or less associated in the past by a common antagonism to Brazil, and a policy of neutrality and pro-Germanism during the war. However, this Argentine Chilean rapport no longer exists and Argentina's sympathy has gradually drifted away from Chile towards Peru and Bolivia. Argentina feels particularly antagonistic towards Chile at present, for bringing up the question of limitation of armaments at Santiago.

With Brazil Argentina and Brazil are not in accord and regard each other with distrust and jealousy, as both aspire to be leader in South American affairs. Both countries desire to extend their influence in Paraguay and Uruguay, although neither one seems inclined to press this matter to the point of a serious quarrel.

Peru and Bolivia Argentina seems to favor Peru and Bolivia of late and to desire closer commercial relations with these countries, and is endeavoring to strengthen these relations by political friendship.

Argentina has been particularly free from the heritage of Colonial boundary disputes, which have predisposed the other South American states to dissention and war. However, she has become indirectly drawn into the political discussions resulting from the alignment and grouping of other nations and factors, precipitated and continued by the long drawn out "Question of the Pacific" controversy involving Peru, Chile and Bolivia. However, Argentina has no serious political disputes to settle as she has been very careful to keep out of entangling alliances.

Report #3164, June 12, 1933.

CONFIDENTIAL

By 10
Date 5-29-69

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DEPARTMENT

SUBJECT. POLITICAL ---- ARGENTINA

(FOR INFORMATION DIGEST)

From ARGENTINA

No. 3177

Date

July 1

1923

Replying to No.

Date

AUG 1 1923

19

3700: Political Parties and Groups.

General scope and trend of political movements; prospective future influence on government.

The dissension long latent in the Radical (governing) Party, is tending daily to become more acute, with consequences which may, conceivably be far-reaching, quite apart from "politics" as such.

The ex-President of the Republic, Dr. Hipolito Irigoyen, by the force of his personality has, throughout his long political career (and particularly during his term of office) been able to rally passionate adherents to his cause and person. At present there is a pronounced lack of cordiality between the politicians who avowedly respond to the ex-President and those who, equally notoriously, do not so respond.

Even before the expiry of Dr. Irigoyen's term of office a certain number of leading members of the Radical Party had expressed with greater or lesser emphasis, their dissent from the "personal" predominance of their Party leader--- incidentally the President of the Republic.

The latest developments in the political situation are as follows. The Radical members of the Legislature of the Province of Buenos Aires, faithful adherents of Dr. Irigoyen recently passed a vote of censure on Doctor Saguer, a Radical member of the National Senate, for alleged complicity in the manoeuvres of the Opposition which resulted in the withdrawal from the President of the Senate (Vice-President of the Republic) of the power to nominate the permanent committees of the Chamber. Dr. Saguer has been for many years a close personal and political friend of Dr. Irigoyen. The Vice-President is, and long has been, one of the chief political lieutenants of the ex-President. Eight other Radical Senators made common cause with Dr. Saguer, and in this emergency the nine of them issued a lengthy manifesto asserting their political independence from any "personalism". The political supporters of the ex-President regard this action as heresy---and worse. Both factions are exceedingly annoyed with each other. Hence there is a serious schism in the Radical camp which tends to prejudice legislative business, and in general the welfare of the Republic.

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G-2 REPORT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

5-29-69

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SUBJECT POLITICAL - ARGENTINA

(FOR INFORMATION DIGEST)

From ARGENTINA

No. 3196

Date July 31

1923

Replying to No.

Date AUG 28 1923

19

3410: Loyalty of Local Governments.

Trend of recent and current events. Leading Personalities.

Dr. Ernesto Garos, National Deputy of Jujuy Province recently submitted a minute to the Chamber to ask the Government for all information available on the situation in the province. He stated that there is no safety for life or property in Jujuy; the Governor issues false money, writes absurd notes, and treats the Province as if it were his private property. He is accused of putting the public revenues in the bank to his own credit.

At one of the few sessions of the Senate in the month of June when the diplomas of the four Senators were rejected, Senator Torino stated that the facts with regard to their election were too bad for publication, and it was deemed expedient for decency's sake, to suppress the details. In view of this most unhealthy situation, federal intervention in Jujuy is looked for in the near future.

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G-2 REPORT
2057-2-69

SUBJECT POLITICAL-----ARGENTINA

(FOR INFORMATION DIGEST)

From ARGENTINA

No. 3251 Date December 13 19 23

Replied to No. Date RECEIVED G/2 W.D. JAN 11 1924 19

3040: Mandates and Spheres of Influence.

Recognition and acceptance of authority, local and international.

A matter which has created a sensation in political and ecclesiastical circles is a difference which has arisen between the Argentine Government and the Vatican, and which is daily becoming more difficult of solution. Owing to the death some months ago of the Archbishop of Buenos Aires, that office is at the present time vacant. On June 26 last the Senate voted three names of candidates and in accordance with custom the President of the Republic submitted one of the names to the Vatican for final approval. The name so submitted was that of Monsignor de Andrea, Bishop of Temnos. A long delay ensued and then it was announced that Monsignor de Andrea was not persona grata at the Vatican, upon which he immediately withdrew his candidature. The opposition in Rome to the Bishop of Temnos seems to lie in the prelate's supposed political tendencies, said to be too nationalist. It is also affirmed that the Bishop obtained promises to support his candidature both from ex-President Irigoyen and from President Alvear on condition that he would support the Radical Party in Argentina, and this rumor appears to have reached Rome.

The President has firmly declined to accept the withdrawal of the Bishop's candidature, and the Vatican as firmly refuses to approve it, and that is the present situation.

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3800:Foreign Affairs---General.

Recent and current trend toward active participation in international politics.

Recently considerable publicity was given in the press to a suggestion said to have been made by the Chilean Government to the Government of Uruguay that the latter should offer to act as an amicable intermediary between Argentina and Brazil with the object of persuading those countries' Governments to come to an arrangement for limitation of armaments. It is also stated that Chile is said to be endeavoring to bring about a "no aggression" pact between the A.B.C. countries.

M.A. Report #3251, Dec. 13, 1923. /

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CONFIDENTIAL

B-2REPORT

2657-2-70

SUBJECT. ESTIMATE OF THE POLITICAL-MILITARY SITUATION -
ARGENTINA.

From ARGENTINA

No. 3273

Date January 14 19 24

MID G-2/2665-21

Oct. 15, 1923.

Replying to No.

Subject: As above.

Date 19

Page 623, change to read as follows: RECEIVED G/2 W.D. FEB 7- 1924

II. Internal political issues and political parties.

During the term of office of former President Hipólito Irigoyen (1916-1922) the political situation in Argentina was obscure and complicated, due in a large measure to the personal policy pursued by President Irigoyen, who was then, and is now, the dominant leader of the Radical party. Sr. Irigoyen became so immersed in party politics and pre-electoral activities that he neglected to deal with the intricate labor, economic and other domestic issues resulting from the World War, as well as international problems.

In 1922, however, a new President had to be elected, and the Radical Party still counted on a majority at the polls. This time, though, the President, Dr. Marcelo de Alvear is quite a different man from his predecessor----a man of intellectual qualities with diplomatic experience, and at the same time a distinguished member of the Argentine Forum.

Some of the most important internal issues which have required the consideration of Dr. Alvear's administration, and which have called forth some expression of policy and action are:

(a) Financial Situation: Following the inauguration of the new administration, October 12, 1922, the Government found itself shouldered by very heavy burdens----the floating debt having increased to an enormous extent.

The parliamentary period of 1923 was spent mostly in political squabbles, so that when the most important matter came up at the last moment, i.e., the Budget, it had to be discussed during hurried "extraordinary sessions", and dispatched at a gallop to the detriment of the financial interests of the Republic.

Not only was it affected by such an unfortunate and unjustified haste, but it also turns out to be the most onerous Budget from a taxpayer's point of view, that has ever been sanctioned in Argentina.

Custom's dues and other items have been enormously increased, and the burden of taxation will be found very heavy during the present year, that it is feared the effect will be a much lower production of revenue than that calculated in the preparation of the Budget referred to.

The Budget of the Government of the Province of Buenos Aires, and that of the Municipality of Buenos Aires have also reached totals never seen before. The present trade crisis, the difficulties under which the principal industries and cattle trade of the Republic do business today, seem to point to the necessity, within a very short time, of a general setback in

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II. Internal political issues and political parties. (Cont'd)

this system of taxation.

In the new Budget, foreign insurance companies have to pay a tax very considerably higher than that paid by Argentine companies-----evidently to increase the premiums of the latter.

No bank balances have been published since September 1923, but comparison with the figures of December 1922, show that there is comparatively little change. There is a drop of some \$36,000,000 in deposits, there are some \$10,000,000 less in the returns of discounts and advances, and there is a decrease of about \$33,000,000 on the totals of cash on hand. However, this is only trifling when viewed in comparison with the total amount of the deposits and advances now held by the various banks of Argentina.

Resume Nov. 30, 1923. National and foreign banking institutions.

	<u>Deposits</u>	<u>Advances</u>
National	\$3,505,490,000	\$3,019,361,000
Foreign	809,162,000	652,501,000

There are thirteen national concerns and fourteen foreign banks included in the above list.

There is no other country today where credit is as readily obtainable by the business man as in the Argentine Republic. These favorable conditions are largely due to the high competitive nature of banking in Argentina.

In January 1923, the general financial outlook of Argentina was on the whole distinctly bright.

It is understood that the Government intended to introduce a balanced Budget with the minimum possible delay, and that the definite settlement of the floating debt would also be successively negotiated.

Although the 1923-24 harvest promises exceptionally well, and should bring an immense influx of money into the country, thereby reducing the unfavorable balance of trade, it is not too much to say that financially the year 1923 was a disappointment---a state of things which is bound to react on the outlook of 1924, and emphasize the need for careful handling, more particularly in the case of the financial administration and financial charges.

Contrast of exchange quotations.

	<u>January 4, 1923</u>	<u>Dec. 31, 1923.</u>
U.S.A.	117	137 (par. 1.0364)
London	44 1/4	40 1/4
Paris	12.03	14.25
Belgium	13	16.10
Italy	16.70	16.95
Spain	5.45	5.60
Marks	6400	no longer quoted.

President Alvear does not favor the reopening of the "Caja de Conversión" until such a time as the exchange situation becomes favorable, national production increases, and until Argentina's financial conditions become more normal.

(b) Expansion of railroad system. Under the Irigoyen administration the State Railways were practically autonomous. Large sums were borrowed for the exploitation without the sanction of Congress. But under the present administration, this

M.A. Report #3272, Jan. 14/24.

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II. Internal political issues and political parties. (Cont(d))

independence has been curtailed, and sums are being restricted to those projects which are selected as the most important, and whose advancement was such that construction could not be abandoned without total loss of funds expended. The plan of making the railways in the Provinces of Entre Rios and Corrientes on the Brazilian border more strategic is under way.

On January 11, 1924 it was reported that the State Railways were to be furnished with the sum of 5,000,000 in advance for expenses and construction.

The decree to that effect was signed on January 10th by the President, and a few days previously the Treasury paid out to the State Railways another advance of \$9,795,000. Grand total \$14,795,000.

(c) Labor problems. Although the year of 1923 might in general terms be said to have been calm in referring to the relations between capital and labor, it is not possible to affirm that it represents a very satisfactory indication.

The syndicates and resisting societies (Sociedades de Resistencia), discouraged and disorganized after an era of insufferable preponderance, have maintained, however, a tenacious propaganda with views to action more or less tending to recuperate their lost positions. Various symptomatic acts demonstrate it. In the middle of 1923, a very absurd and intense agitation was produced in which the syndicates embarked in the defense of two criminals who pretended to pose as martyrs of the proletariat: Silveyra and Kurt Wloekens. The strike failed which the syndicates planned and attempted, but once more the anarchical tendency was demonstrated.

In the last days of 1923, the carters' strike again renewed the impression noted about the resisting societies. And today there is an intense movement developing among the port and building laborers who are working actively in such a way that may permit them to face the social struggle which they are preparing.

So the relative tranquillity and apparent calm of 1923 perturbed by conflicts without great importance, have not signified the substantial transformation of mind and action, necessary to guarantee social peace.

All this might be attributed to lack of a law which recognizes the personality of the syndicate workmen, which would give them guarantees and at the same time duties and responsibilities making them entities worthy of consideration and respect.

A visible phenomenon in the labor situation is that the number of free laborers is increasing, who, have become emancipated from the tyranny of the syndicate agitators, constituting a nucleus of workmen, who will permit without doubt, when a law of professional associations is planned, to arrive at one of the most advisable solutions in this matter: the regime of syndical liberty----the only order in which can be harmonized the obligation of being syndicalized and of enjoying inalienable rights, which are the liberty of work, liberty of ideas and liberty of religion. The free workmen have developed an important role.

Respecting social legislation, Congress in 1923 concerned concerned itself with the problem of superannuations and pensions. It passed two more laws of this character---that referring to bank employees, and to employees and laborers of the national merchant marine, journalism, graphic arts, industrial establishments and mercantile establishments. By the system of these partial funds or deductions for superannuities and pensions, the Republic can be converted into a country of pensioners with grave consequences for national economy.

II. Internal political issues and political parties. (Cont'd)

Immigration is still a question of great importance to Argentina for great tracts are still unpopulated, and Argentina is greatly in need of colonization.

The number of immigrants for the first ten months of 1923 was 141,845, and for the same period of 1922, 79,445.

The subject of land titles however, is a delicate one, as titles of land which should have been executed years ago have been held in abeyance through bureaucratic methods. The Government is calling for productive labor, and the Minister of Agriculture is concerning himself at the present time with the question of land settlement or "colonization". It is understood that the Minister proposes to open a Government Office for the express purpose of exercising control over colonization enterprises. As according to law, private colonization schemes are not subject to Government intervention, such control will only be possible in case of the interested parties being financed through either of the official banks "Banco de la Nación" or "Banco Hipotecario Nacional".

Industrial: As stock raising is one of the most important industries of Argentina, the passage of the Minimum Price Law, Oct. 15, 1923, caused an agitation among the "frigorificos" or meat packing plants, which refused to comply with the regulations issued in accordance as they were impracticable, if not impossible. On November 7, 1923 the National Government issued a decree suspending the effects of the law for six months.

Page 626: Add to the second paragraph "Leadership" to read as follows:

In March 1923, it is understood that Dr. Alvear and Sr. Irigoyen had an understanding in that Dr. Alvear would be allowed a free hand in the executive administration of the Government, and that Sr. Irigoyen would maintain his leadership of the Radical Party. Dr. Alvear made the proviso then that he should receive Congressional support in the projects of laws which he deemed wise. Whether Sr. Irigoyen consented to this is not known. Congress, however, did not support Dr. Alvear as was evidenced by habitual sessions without a quorum.

It looks as if a wide breach had been made recently and finally by the appointment by Dr. Alvear of Dr. Vicente C. Gallo as Minister of the Interior. Although Dr. Gallo is a Radical he is a bitter enemy of Dr. Irigoyen.

Change the Ministry to read as follows:

Minister of the Interior.....Dr. Vicente C. Gallo

Minister of Foreign Affairs
and Worship.....1....Dr. Angel Gallardo

Minister of Finance.....Dr. Victor Molina

Minister of Justice and Public
Instruction..... Dr. Adolfo Sagarna

Minister of War..... Brig. General Agustín
P. Justo

Minister of Marine..... Admiral Manuel D. García

Minister of Agriculture..... Dr. Tomás A. Lebreton

Minister of Public Works..... Dr. Eufasio Loza

M. A. Report #3273, Jan. 14, 1924.

G-2 REPORT

REPLACE

SUBJECT ESTIMATE OF THE POLITICAL-MILITARY SITUATION

(FOR INFORMATION DIGEST)

From ARGENTINA

No. 3456 Date June 15, 1935

Replying to No. Date AUG 7 1935

I. Governmental Organization and Method of Operation.

(a) Form of Government.

The form of Government is republican. The Republic of Argentina gained her independence from Spain in 1816. The Constitution of 1853, with subsequent modifications is in force. Suffrage is extended to all male citizens over the age of 18 years in national elections.

(b) Organization of Government.

The Executive Power is vested in a President, elected for a term of six years, and the legislative authority is exercised by a National Congress consisting of a Senate and Chamber of Deputies. The Republic is divided into fourteen provinces, ten territories and a federal district, Buenos Aires.

(1) The General Government.

The Argentine National Government has the Federal Representative form of Government, approved September 25, 1860. Each province enacts for itself a Constitution under the representative republican system.

The Federal Government intervenes in the territory of the Province in order to guarantee the republican form of Government.

(a) Branches.

1. Executive.
2. Legislative.
3. Judicial.

(b) Powers of several branches (particularly war powers).

1. Executive: Vested in the President personally. He is the immediate and local Chief of the Capital (Buenos Aires). He concludes and signs treaties of peace, commerce, navigation, alliance boundaries and neutrality, concordats and other negotiations, required for the maintenance of good relations with foreign powers.

He is the Commander-in-Chief of all the land and sea forces of the Nation.

He appoints and removes Cabinet Ministers.

In recess of Congress, the President can absent himself from the Capital for important reasons of public service only.

2. Legislative: Powers of Congress (Senate and Chamber of Deputies).

To contract loans of money.

To arrange the payment of interior and exterior debt.
To determine definitely the national and territorial boundaries.

To provide for the security of the frontiers; preserving pacific intercourse with the Indians and converting them to Catholicism.

To accept or reject the reasons alleged for resignation of the President or Vice-President of the Republic.

To approve or reject the treaties concluded with other nations and with the concordats of the Apostolic See; regulating the exercise of patronage in the Nation.

To authorize the calling out of the militia in the provinces.

To permit the entrance of foreign troops in the territory of the Nation, and the departure of the National forces.

To declare a state of siege.

To exercise exclusive legislative powers in the Capital, and in other places acquired by purchase or cession, in any of the provinces. To establish forts, arsenals, storehouses or other establishments of national utility.

Laws may originate in the Senate or House of Deputies with the exception of those referring to contributions and recruiting of troops which are the exclusive prerogatives of the House of Deputies.

3. Judicial: The Judicial Power of the Nation is exercised by a Supreme Court of Justice, and by other lower Tribunals which Congress establishes in the Territory of the Nation.

In no case may the President of the Nation exercise judicial powers.

The Supreme Court of the Nation, and the lower Tribunals take part in and decide upon all suits concerned with matters governed by the Constitution and by laws of the Nation; also they are concerned with treaties made with foreign nations; with cases concerning Ambassadors, Public Ministers and foreign consuls; Admiralty and marine jurisdiction cases; of affairs to which the nation is a party; of cases arising between two or more provinces; between one province and the residents of another; between residents of different provinces and between one province and its residents against a foreign State or citizen.

In such cases, the Supreme Court exercises its jurisdiction by appeal, according to the rules and exceptions prescribed by Congress; but in all matters concerning Ambassadors, Ministers and foreign Consuls, to which one of the Provinces is a party, the Supreme Court has original and exclusive intervention.

(c) Relation of branches to each other.

Relation of Executive: The Executive Power appoints the magistrates of the Supreme Court and the rest of the Federal lower Tribunals in agreement with the Senate.

The Executive Power confirms or suspends the canonical laws of the Council of Bishops, the Bulls, Apostolic Briefs and the orders of the Pope at Rome in agreement with the Supreme Court.

The Executive Power appoints and removes Ministers Plenipotentiaries with the agreement of the Senate.

The Executive Power declares war and grants letters of marque and reprisal with the authorization and approval of Congress.

The Executive Power declares a state of siege in the Nation in case of attack from abroad, and for a limited time in agreement with the Senate.

Relations of Legislative Power: The Legislative Power establishes lower Tribunals to the Supreme Court of Justice. The Legislative Power also authorizes the Executive to declare war and make peace.

Laws may originate in the Senate or House of Deputies with the exception of those referring to contributions and recruiting of troops which are the exclusive prerogative of the House of Deputies.

(d) Method of Governmental functioning.

The Presidential election and that of the Vice-President takes place as follows: the Capital and each one of the provinces elects a board of electors by direct vote, equal to double the number of Senators and Deputies to Congress, and they elect the President and Vice-President by signed ballots.

The Presidential term of office is for 6 years, beginning with October 12 of the year of election, and re-election cannot take place after a period of interval. In case of death or total disability of the President, his place is taken by the Vice-President.

The President or Executive is seconded by his Ministers who number eight in all.

No Minister may be himself alone, in any case make decisions except concerning the economic and administrative requirements of the respective Departments.

Congressional ordinary sessions are from May 1 to September 30 annually. Extraordinary session may be called by the President.

(2) Local political subdivisions.

Each one of the provinces and the capital has a principal local authority, its convention, which meets to proclaim candidates for local elections.

(a) Basis of subdivisions.

Capital: Buenos Aires.

For political purposes the electoral college of the Federal Capital is divided into 20 precincts, including the city proper and the various suburbs

(b) Powers of local government (extent of local autonomy, etc.)

Each province enacts for itself a Constitution under the representative republican system.

(c) Relation to Central Government.

In general the relation of the Provincial Governments in Argentina to the Federal Government is about similar to the relation of the Government of the various states to the Federal Government in the United States.

The Federal Government intervenes in the territory of the Province in order to guarantee the republican form of Government.

(3) Stability of Government.

Argentina's Government is stable. However the government finds it necessary to intervene in provincial affairs on many occasions. When this happens the federal authorities displace the Provincial Government until the province is again in a normal condition. At present three provinces are under government intervention. Argentina might be considered as a highly centralized government.

II. Internal political issues and political parties.

Important political issues.

(a) Important political issues.

During the term of office of former President Hipolito Irigoyen (1916-1922) the political situation in Argentina was obscure and complicated, due in a large measure to the personal policy pursued by President Irigoyen, who was then, and is now, the dominant leader of the Radical party. Sr. Irigoyen became so immersed in party politics and pre-electoral activities that he neglected to deal with the intricate labor, economic and other domestic issues resulting from the World War, as well as international problems.

In 1922, however, a new President was elected, and the Radical Party still counted on a majority at the polls. During the two and a half years of his Presidency Dr. Alvear has shown himself to be quite a different man from his predecessor--a man of intellectual qualities with diplomatic experience, and at the same time a distinguished member of the Argentine Forum.

Argentina is not confronted with any very serious political issues. The most important thing at present is to get the government in such a shape so that it can function. At present and for some time past, no party has been able to obtain a majority in Congress so that business can be transacted and the president has his hands tied in trying to have anything done.

There are a number of issues which the Government desires to put through such as the new land colonization scheme whereby immigrants will be enabled to settle in more desirable parts of the country, to develop the agricultural resources, and, at the same time, the landowners will be required to sell part of their land; the expansion of the railway system whereby many new lines planned can be constructed and needed repairs can be made; an income tax in which the government can obtain a new source of revenue which will not be such a burden to the majority of the people; modification of the new Pensions Law passed in 1923 which is unpopular alike to employers and labor, and in its present state unworkable; the new budget bill and funding of the floating debt.

Parties do not seem to be interested in issues of their own but divided on personal lines only.

(b) Political Parties.

(1) Aims and policies.

There seems to be no such thing as any clear aim or any definite policy of any of the political parties, and it is rather a difficult undertaking to define clearly what party principles are. Coalitions exist, but they change easily, different blocs grouping themselves as political issues come up, and as it is still early in Congressional sessions, and due to the attitude of the Irigoyen members it is difficult to obtain a quorum, hence the trend of events is as yet undefined.

(2) Power and importance.

The strength of the political parties as represented in Congress at present is as shown in the table below:

Party	No. in Senate	No. in House
Radical Antipersonalist Party	14	40
Personal or old Radical Party	5	48
Conservative Party	9	38
Socialist Party	2	18
Progressive Democratic Party	-	6

Totals 30 150

(3) Leadership.

The titular head of the Radical antipersonalist party is President Alvear although he cannot be said to be a strong leader. This is a young party and was caused by the split in the old Radical Party. Ex-president Irigoyen selected as his successor Dr. Alvear who he believed would be most apt to win the election and follow the policies as dictated by him. Since attaining office President Alvear has refused to follow the authority of the ex-president blindly, and this has caused the party split. The present leaders of this party are the members of the cabinet and some of the members in Congress. The Vice-President is an Irigoyenista.

The old Radical Party owes its allegiance to ex-President Irigoyen, a man of great personality. He controls sufficient strength in the government to block any legislation which he wishes.

Some of the Irigoyen leaders are the Vice-President, the Governor of the Province of Buenos Aires, several members of Congress and Ambassador Pueyrredon of Argentina to the United States.

Both of the above parties have as a policy the improvement of the condition and increase in influence of the laboring classes.

The policy of the Conservative Party seems to be to resist any encroachments on the existing order of things. It is for the perpetuation of the conditions under which the rich land-owners obtained their wealth, and it resists any attempts to impair the privileges of this class. The leaders of the party seem to be Senator Leopoldo Melo from the Province of Entre Rios and Senator Fernando Saguir from Buenos Aires Province.

The Socialist Party is organized along less extreme lines than most Socialist parties, and does not have any definite policy except that it is anti-personalist.

The Progressive Democratic Party is a small party which did much to block the influence of the Personalist Radical Party in the Cordoba elections last March. Ex-president Irigoyen made a great campaign in this province to secure the election of his own candidates for Governor and representatives in Congress, but was defeated.

4. Role in the existing government.

The party in power, the Radical Antipersonalist Party seems to be definitely blocked as far as any constructive legislation is concerned. It has the largest number of senators, though not a majority, and a fewer number of deputies than the personalists. None of the parties seem to get together on any issue and it is problematical when this can be done.

The chief opposition to the administration at present is ex-President Irigoyen, and the party headed by him.

(a) The government.

The present radical government with Dr. Marcelo T. de Alvear as President and Dr. Elpidio Gonzalez as Vice-President was inaugurated October 12, 1922 for a term of 6 years. The Cabinet which is composed of Radicals is as follows:

Minister of the Interior.....	Dr. Vicente C. Gallo
Minister of Foreign Affairs	
and Worship.....	Dr. Angel Gallardo
Minister of Finance.....	Dr. Victor Molina
Minister of Justice and	
Public Instruction.....	Dr. Adolfo Sagarna
Minister of War.....	Brig. Gen. Agustin P. Justo.
Minister of Marine.....	Admiral Manuel D. Garcia
Minister of Agriculture.....	Dr. Tomas A. Lebreton
Minister of Public Works.....	Dr. Roberto M. Ortiz

(2) Political position (extent of support, etc.)

In home politics there have been no events of importance during the past year. The Executive Power presided over by Dr. Alvear has maintained in all respects the prestige with which it was received on assuming the reins of government.

The most important matter politically has been the serious divergence which has occurred in the Radical Party which is divided into adherents of the President and adherents of ex-President Irigoyen.

(d) Regional and racial differences; separatist movements.

None.

(e) Foreign influences in internal politics.

Argentina occupies a very independent position among the nations, and is little affected by foreign influences. She is able to feed herself and in addition exports great quantities of meats and cereals to Europe. The foreign trade in 1934 was favorable to the country, and represented a creditor balance.

The chief industries and large businesses in the country are mainly owned and operated by foreigners. These at times are subject to unfavorable legislation by the government in order to favor national institutions.

(f) Bearing of internal political situation on international relations and issues.

There have been some happenings lately in internal politics which might influence international relations. Every effort has been made on the part of the government to increase better understanding and more amicable relations with foreign powers especially in America.

Last year the Crown Prince of Italy paid a visit to the country, and this year the Prince of Wales is to visit Argentina. He is expected to arrive in August of this year.

These visits have a great influence in Latin America in bettering relations with whatever governments are concerned.

Argentina sent missions to Peru on the occasion of the Ayacucho Centenary and also to the Panamerican Scientific Congress at Lima.

When President Alessandri of Chile passed through Buenos Aires en route to Chile no opportunity was lost in impressing upon him and on the Chilean nation the good will and friendship of Argentina.

Argentina has entered into commercial treaties with Brazil and Paraguay for the interchange of various products, and also to extend commercial relations between these countries.

An Argentine delegation has been sent to Rome to regulate immigration problems between the two countries.

Argentina has also been represented abroad in various scientific, commercial and medical conferences.

(3) Foreign policies and relations.

(a) General aims, important issues or doctrines.

At present the general aims of Argentina in her foreign policy appear to be to foster more amicable relations and better understanding between herself and foreign nations, and at present her relations with her neighbors in South America seem very friendly. With respect to Brazil, however, underneath a cloak of friendliness, there is no doubt that there is a feeling of suspicion and antagonism as Argentina does not want to be outstripped by Brazil in South American leadership.

Argentina was one of the charter members of the League of Nations. After joining, due to the attitude of her pro-German

President, Dr. Prigoyen, maintaining the attitude that all nations should be authorized to join the League on equal footing (including Germany) and failing to carry his point, had the Argentine delegation headed by Dr. Honorio Pueyrredon, withdraw from the League in 1920.

For several years the country failed to pay its quota, and lost interest in what the league was doing, and no Argentine delegate was present at its deliberations. In June 1923, however, Congress voted a sum of over \$400,000 gold for subscriptions from 1919 to 1923 inclusive, and at the present time Argentina is a member in good standing of the League of Nations. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that Argentina is a nation greatly interested in league affairs, and it is probable that Argentina's reentry in the league was influenced by Brazil's activities in it.

(b) Relations with other important powers. Alliances or ententes.

Brazil

Argentina regards Brazil as her chief rival in South America and perhaps as her most logical enemy in war. Her army appears to be located with this possibility in view. Most of her units are within easy access of the Brazilian frontier. There seems to be a rivalry between these two countries as to their influence in Uruguay and Paraguay, and each likes to consider herself as leader in South American affairs.

Chile.

Of late Argentina's relations with Chile have become more cordial. There is not much antagonism between the two countries apparently. Argentina feels that now she has outclassed Chile so greatly on population and wealth that there is no further cause for rivalry. Argentina looked upon President Coolidge's Tacon-Arica award with favor, but possibly general sentiment favors Peru.

Other South American countries.

Argentina is on very friendly terms with all other South American countries. She has no cause for rivalry with them, and during the last year has shown on several occasions her friendship toward them in different ways.

Spain.

Argentina regards Spain as the "mother country" and shows no spirit of resentment towards her as a result of her war of independence. At present they are very friendly towards each other.

France and Italy.

Argentina greatly admires these countries and tries to copy them in a cultural way. She considers these countries as centers of all art, music and literature. A large part of the Argentine population is of French or Italian stock.

Great Britain.

Argentina is very friendly with Great Britain. There are no great differences between them, and a large part of Argentina's exports go to Great Britain. The intended visit of the Prince of Wales to Argentina will have considerable influence in bringing about even closer relations between the two countries.

United States.

While the attitude of the Government toward the United States is friendly, the Argentine people as a whole are not especially friendly towards the United States, and they resent the United States' leadership in the Americas. She especially resents the

patronizing attitude of some American individuals towards the country. As a whole the country may be compared to an individual with an exaggerated idea of his own importance.

(c) General international situation.

The foreign relations of Argentina are very satisfactory. She is not involved in any international disputes, and she is free from any entangling alliances. Her economic and financial situation are rapidly improving, and her currency now is almost on par with the American dollar. With the improved internal conditions a more rapid period of development may be expected.

SUBJECT... ESTIMATE OF THE POLITICAL-MILITARY SITUATION-ARGENTINA
 (FOR INFORMATION DIGEST)

From... ARGENTINA

No. 3325 Date May 21 19 24.

Replying to No. Date JUN 13 1924

I. Governmental Organization and Method of Operation.

1. Form of Government (whether Absolute Monarchy, Constitutional Monarchy, Republic, etc.).

The form of Government is republican. The Republic of Argentina gained her independence from Spain in 1818. The Constitution of 1853, with subsequent modifications is in force.

2. Organization of Government.

The Executive Power is vested in a President, elected for a term of six years, and the legislative authority is exercised by a National Congress consisting of a Senate and Chamber of Deputies. The Republic is divided into fourteen provinces, ten territories and a federal district, Buenos Aires.

(1) The General Government.

The Argentine National Government has the Federal Representative form of Government, approved September 25, 1860. Each province enacts for itself a Constitution under the representative republican system.

The Federal Government intervenes in the territory of the Province in order to guarantee the republican form of Government.

(a) Branches.

1. Executive
2. Legislative
3. Judicial

(b) Powers of several branches (particularly war powers).

1. Executive: Vested in the President personally. He is the immediate and local Chief of the Capital (Buenos Aires). He concludes and signs treaties of peace, commerce, navigation, alliance, boundaries and neutrality, concordats and other negotiations, required for the maintenance of good relations with foreign powers.

He is Commander-in-Chief of all the land and sea forces of the Nation.

He alone appoints and removes Cabinet Ministers, Consular Agents, etc.

In recess of Congress, the President can absent himself from the Capital for important reasons of public service only.

2. Legislative: Powers of Congress (Senate and Chamber of Deputies).

To contract loans of money.

To arrange the payment of interior and exterior debt.

CONFIDENTIAL

ARGENTINA
Political--- Military.

To determine definitely the national and territorial boundaries.

To provide for the security of the frontiers; preserving pacific intercourse with the Indians and converting them to Catholicism.

To accept or reject the reasons alleged for resignation of the President or Vice-President of the Republic.

To approve or reject the treaties concluded with other nations and with the concordats of the Apostolic See; regulating the exercise of patronage in the Nation.

To authorize the calling out of the militia in the provinces.

To permit the entrance of foreign troops in the territory of the Nation, and the departure of the National forces.

To declare a state of siege.

To exercise exclusive legislative powers in the Capital, and in other places acquired by purchase or cession, in any of the provinces. To establish forts, arsenals, storehouses or other establishments of national utility.

Laws may originate in the Senate or House of Deputies with the exception of those referring to contributions and recruiting of troops which are the exclusive prerogatives of the House of Deputies.

3. Judicial: The Judicial Power of the Nation is exercised by a Supreme Court of Justice, and by other lower Tribunals which Congress establishes in the Territory of the Nation.

In no case may the President of the Nation exercise judicial powers.

The Supreme Court of the Nation, and the lower Tribunals take part in and decide upon all suits concerned with matters governed by the Constitution and by laws of the Nation; also they are concerned with treaties made with foreign nations; with cases concerning Ambassadors, public Ministers and foreign consuls; Admiralty and marine jurisdiction cases; of affairs to which the nation is a party; of cases arising between two or more provinces; between one province and the residents of another; between residents of different provinces and between one province and its residents against a foreign State or citizen.

In such cases, the Supreme Court exercises its jurisdiction by appeal, according to the rules and exceptions prescribed by Congress; but in all matters concerning Ambassadors, Ministers and foreign Consuls, to which one of the Provinces is a party, the Supreme Court has original and exclusive intervention.

(c) Relation of branches to each other.

Relation of Executive: The Executive Power appoints the magistrates of the Supreme Court and the rest of the Federal lower Tribunals in agreement with the Senate.

The Executive Power confirms or suspends the canonical laws of the Council of Bishops, the Bulls, Apostolic Briefs and the orders of the Pope at Rome in agreement with the Supreme Court.

The Executive Power appoints and removes Ministers Plenipotentiaries with the agreement of the Senate.

The Executive Power declares war and grants letters of marque and reprisal with the authorization and approval of Congress.

The Executive Power declares a state of siege in the Nation in case of attack from abroad, and for a limited time in agreement with the Senate.

Relations of Legislative Power: The Legislative

II. INTERNAL POLITICAL ISSUES AND POLITICAL PARTIES.

ARGENTINA Political-Military

Power establishes lower Tribunals to the Supreme Court of Justice.

The Legislative Power also authorizes the Executive to declare war and make peace.

Laws may originate in the Senate or House of Deputies with the exception of those referring to contributions and recruiting of troops which are the exclusive prerogative of the House of Deputies.

(d) Method of Governmental functioning.

The Presidential election and that of the Vice-President takes place as follows: the Capital and each one of the provinces elects a board of electors by direct vote, equal to double the number of Senators and Deputies to Congress, and they elect the President and Vice-President by signed ballots.

The Presidential term of office is for 8 years, beginning with October 12 of the year of election, and re-election cannot take place except after a period of interval. In case of death or total disability of the President, his place is taken by the Vice-President.

The President or Executive is seconded by his secretaries of State who number eight in all.

No Minister may by himself alone, in any case make decisions except concerning the economic and administrative requirements of the respective Departments.

Congressional ordinary sessions are from May 1 to September 30 annually. Extraordinary session may be called by the President.

(2) Local political subdivisions.

Each one of the provinces and the capital has a principal local authority, its convention, which meets to proclaim candidates for local elections.

(a) Basis of subdivisions.

Capital: Buenos Aires.

For political purposes the electoral college of the Federal Capital is divided into 20 circumscriptions, including the city proper and the various suburbs.

(b) Powers of local government (extent of local autonomy, etc.)

Each province enacts for itself a Constitution under the representative republican system.

(c) Relation to Central Government.

The Federal Government intervenes in the territory of the Province in order to guarantee the republican form of Government.

(3) Stability of Government.

Argentina's Government is stable.

II. Internal political issues and political parties.

1. Political issues.

During the term of office of former President Hipolito Irigoyen (1916-1928) the political situation in Argentina was obscure and complicated, due in a large measure to the personal policy pursued by President Irigoyen, who was then, and is now, the dominant leader of the Radical party. Sr. Irigoyen became so immersed in party politics and pre-electoral activities that

ARGENTINA
Political-Military

he neglected to deal with the intricate labor, economic and other domestic issues resulting from the World War, as well as international problems.

In 1922, however, a new President was elected, and the Radical Party still counted on a majority at the polls. During the year and a half of his Presidency, Dr. Alvear has shown himself to be quite a different man from his predecessor --- a man of intellectual qualities with diplomatic experience, and at the same time a distinguished member of the Argentine Forum.

Some of the most important issues of an internal nature which have required the consideration of Dr. Alvear's administration, and which have called forth some expression of policy and action are:

(a) Financial Situation: Following the inauguration of the new administration, October 12, 1922, the Government found itself shouldered by very heavy burdens--- the floating debt having increased to an enormous extent.

The parliamentary period of 1923 was spent mostly in political squabbles so that when the most important matter came up at the last moment, i.e., the Budget, it had to be discussed during hurried "extraordinary session", and dispatched at a gallop to the detriment of the financial interests of the Republic.

Not only was it affected by such an unfortunate and unjustified haste, but it also turns out to be the most onerous Budget from a taxpayer's point of view, that has ever been sanctioned in Argentina.

Custom's dues and other items have been enormously increased, and the burden of taxation has been found very heavy during the past year. The effect is a much lower production of revenue than that calculated in the preparation of the Budget referred to.

The Budget of the Government of the Province of Buenos Aires, and that of the Municipality of Buenos Aires have also reached totals never seen before. The present trade crisis, the difficulties under which the principal industries and cattle trade of the Republic do business today, seem to point to the necessity, within a very short time, of a general setback in this system of taxation.

It is reported that the Minister of Finance is now drafting two projects of law, one of which is for the unification of system of internal taxation. The Minister is desirous of abolishing the procedure whereby many articles are subject to dual taxation---national and provincial. He recognizes, of course, that such taxes represent considerable sources of income to the Provincial Governments, and the National Government would have to accord compensation, having due regard to the population and production of each province.

Beginning with the Budget for last year, foreign insurance companies have to pay a tax very considerably higher than that paid by Argentine companies-----evidently to increase the premiums of the latter.

The latest figures published regarding bank balances show:

Banco) Deposits.....	\$1,503,087,641	e/1 (paper)
de la) Discounts & overdrafts..	1,180,308,687	"
Nacion) Cash and due from banks.	323,372,804	"

Other Banks

Deposits.....	1,931,684,316	"
Discounts and over-		
drafts.....	1,692,899,863	"
Cash and Due from banks.	536,030,982	"

CONFIDENTIAL
ARGENTINA
Political-Military.

There are thirty national concerns and banks included in the above list of other banks.

There is no other country today where credit is as readily obtainable by the business man as in the Argentine Republic. These favorable conditions are largely due to the high competitive nature of banking in Argentina.

As the Budget for 1923 still holds good for the fiscal year 1924 until such a time as a new budget is passed, the passage of this year's Budget is not so urgent as in previous ones. Nevertheless, it is understood that the Government still holds steadfastly to its plan to introduce a balanced Budget with the minimum possible delay.

Nature has been exceedingly kind to Argentina during the cereal year 1923-1924, and on top of a record wheat crop (7,000,000 met. tons) the country is now harvesting a record maize crop calculated to furnish an exportable surplus of roughly 5,000,000 tons. The weather has been extraordinarily favorable and exporting firms engaged themselves for May tonnage shipments on a scale unprecedented in the history of Argentine grain trade.

Contrast of exchange quotations.

Dec. 31, 1923 May 13, 1924.

U.S.A.	137 (par 1.038)	133.70
London	40 1/4	41.1/8
Paris	14.25	13.34
Belgium	16.10	15.75
Italy	18.25	16.85
Spain	5.60	5.41
Marks	no longer quoted.	

Exchange of the peso is maintained in a more favorable position with respect to the dollar. Banking business continues to be restricted.

President Alvear does not favor the reopening of the "Caja de Conversion" until such a time as the exchange situation becomes favorable, national production increases, and until Argentina's financial conditions become more normal.

Commercial failures show a slight increase in comparison to last year.

(b) Expansion of railroad system. Under the Irigoyen administration the State railways were practically autonomous. Large sums were borrowed for the exploitation without the sanction of Congress. But under the present administration, this independence has been curtailed, and sums are being restricted to those projects which are selected as the most important, and whose advancement was such that construction could not be abandoned without total loss of funds expended. The plan of making the railways in the Provinces of Entre Rios and Corrientes on the Brazilian border more strategic is under way.

\$138,380,795 paper is to be expended from January 1, 1924 in prosecuting the construction of 14 lines; and \$174,000,000 paper earmarked for the construction of 20 new lines.

(c) Labor problems. Although the year of 1923 might in general terms be said to have been calm in referring to the relations between capital and labor; it is not possible to affirm that it represents a very satisfactory indication.

The syndicates and resisting societies (Sociedades de Resistencia) discouraged and disorganized after an era of insufferable preponderance, have maintained, however, a tenacious propaganda with views to action more or less tending

CONFIDENTIAL
ARGENTINA
Political--Military

to recouperate their lost positions. Various symptomatic acts demonstrate it. In the middle of 1923, a very absurd and intense agitation was produced in which the syndicates embarked in the defense of two criminals who pretended to pose as martyrs of the proletariat: Silveyra and Kurt Wilkens. The strike which the syndicates planned and attempted failed, but once more the anarchical tendency was demonstrated.

Respecting social legislation, Congress in 1923, concerned itself with the problem of superannuations and pensions. It passed two more laws of this character----that referring to bank employees, and to employees and laborers of the national merchant marine, journalism, graphic arts, industrial establishments and mercantile establishments. By the system of these partial funds or deductions for superannuities and pensions the Republic can be converted into a country of pensioners with grave consequences for national economy.

In view of unabated opposition and difficulties of application, the new Pension Law (No. 11,289) was suspended by the President for two months, and reinstated as of April 1. The Executive Power maintaining firmly that the law would be enforced. The law still fails to specify what amount the beneficiary will be able to draw out of the fund, and when he may draw it. In addition, while the workers themselves agitated for legislation covering pensions, faced now with the possibility of a 5% reduction from wages and salaries, the question assumes a different aspect to them. The employers naturally are also not favorably inclined for it increases their costs to the extent of 5% of the entire pay roll. The situation, therefore, as an economic difficulty embracing the laboring element of the nation, is unique, as it is not a combat between Capital and Labor but rather one of Capital and Labor combined against the Government on a measure deemed oppressive, though the onus falls largely upon the employer who is obliged to make the law effective by effecting deductions and forwarding contributions to the Fund.

As a protest, a general strike throughout the republic was called by the Union Sindical and commenced on May 1, 1924, all business houses of every nature remaining closed on that day and in particular on May 5. The strike was practically over by May 8th, though no settlement of any kind was arrived at.

On May 4th a Cabinet meeting was held and the Executive's Message to Congress with reference to the law was read. The message as drafted would call upon Congress to settle the following points:

1: Refund of contributions to persons involuntarily relinquishing their employment after five years' work, consecutive or otherwise.

2: Refund of contributions to female workers giving up employment to commit matrimony.

3: Pension to become due after 30 years' work in ordinary occupations and after a minimum period of 15 years in occupations of a special nature.

4: Special superannuation without restrictions of age limit where contributors become incapacitated for work.

5: Refund of contributions to foreigners leaving the country.

6: Abolition of Art. 23 of the law. This article subordinates the rights of contributors to the decisions of employers. Mixed tribunals representing both employers and employees are recommended.

7: Agree to the establishment of presumptive salaries to employees whose earnings are largely made up of gratuities, as in the case of hotel waiters, barbers, etc.

8: Recognition of services rendered previous to the application of the law, so that all workers may participate

ARGENTINA
Political---Military

in its benefits.

9. Reduction of workers' contribution to 3 per cent in the case of earnings below \$100 monthly.

10. Inclusion of insurance employment and illness under a scheme of supplementary contributions.

On May 10th it was reported in the press that in the assembly held by the Argentine Industrial Union on the 9th of May it was decided to resist payment of contributions.

Regarding the slump in cattle prices it is authoritatively reported that there has been an increased European demand for Argentine Beef, and this increase by the number of potential consumers has been brought about by shortage of domestic supplies, and by the comparative cheapness of the Argentine product. Thus Argentina has within reach the opportunity of getting into the cattle business on a larger scale than heretofore.

Immigration is still a question of great importance to Argentina for great tracts are still unpopulated, and Argentina is greatly in need of colonization.

Thus the news of the appointment of the Minister of Agriculture, Dr. Tomás A. LeBreton as President of Argentine Delegation to the International Conference on Emigration and Immigration shortly to take place in Rome shows that the Argentine Government appears to have realized the importance of the matter, justifying the personal concurrence of a Minister of State to represent it at the conference. The fact that the Conference is to take place in the capital of Italy, the country which has provided the largest quota of immigrants to Argentina imparts additional significance to it from the Argentine point of view. Recent developments in the United States, adding further restrictions to the already sufficiently severe limitations on emigrants to that country, contribute to make the matter of supreme importance from an ethnological, political and economic point of view.

The total number of immigrants to Argentina for 1923 was 232,055. No later figures for 1924 are available than for the month of January, when 16,350 entered the country.

The subject of land titles is a delicate one, as titles of land which should have been executed years ago have been held in abeyance through bureaucratic methods. The Government is calling for productive labor, and the Minister of Agriculture is concerning himself at the present time with the question of land settlement or "colonization". It is understood that the Minister proposes to open a Government Office for the express purpose of exercising control over colonization enterprises, as, according to law, private colonization schemes are not subject to Government intervention, such control will only be possible in case of the interested parties being financed through either of the official banks "Banco de la Nación" or "Banco Hipotecario Nacional".

(d) Industrial: As stock raising is one of the most important industries of Argentina, the passage of the Minimum Price Law, October 15, 1923, caused an agitation among the "frigorificos" or meat packing plants, which refused to comply with the regulations issued in accordance as they were impracticable, if not impossible. On November 7, 1923 the National Government issued a decree suspending the effects of the law for six months. The future prosperity of the cattle raising industry depends upon how successfully producers adjust production costs to current prices; a further substantial increase in cattle values cannot be counted on.

M.A. Report #3319, May 12, 1924.

CONFIDENTIAL

ARGENTINA
Political-Military

2. Political parties.

Although a number of minor political parties are in existence, the only nationally important ones are the Radical and the Socialist parties, the former the party of the Government.

However, the elections for the partial renovation of the Chamber of Deputies (19 Deputies to be elected) and 86 electors for one Senator which took place on March 23, 1924 showed the following results:

Socialists.....80,539 votes

Radicals.....70,578 "

The decrease in predominance of the Radicals is visible in the figures for:

<u>1922</u>		<u>1923</u>		<u>1924</u>	
<u>Radicals</u>	<u>Socialists</u>	<u>Radicals</u>	<u>Socialists</u>	<u>Radicals</u>	<u>Socialists</u>
69,034	82,364	70,886	77,501	70,578	80,539

Prior to the last presidential elections held in April, 1922 a federation of the more Conservative or Democratic parties and groups was formed, under the title of the National Concentration party. These groups kept their autonomy and independence, but united at the time solely for the purpose of preventing President Irigoyen from continuing in power, or from imposing a successor on the country who would carry out his personal policies.

While in general, it is more the political custom to take into consideration the candidate's personal program rather than any platform, the following are the aims attributed to the different factions:

Radical Party: Improvement in conditions of working classes--lower taxation--impartial elections---friendly but neutral international relations.

Power and importance: While the Radical party is all powerful, it has divided into two main factions since the inauguration of the new administration, October 12, 1922, namely, the supporters of the Ex-President, Sr. Irigoyen, and of the present Executive, President Alvear.

Leadership: President Alvear, nominal head of the Radical Party, has announced his intention of running the government strictly according to his constitutional prerogatives, and has intimated as much to Sr. Irigoyen.

In March 1923, it is understood, an understanding took place between Dr. Alvear and Sr. Irigoyen to the effect that Dr. Alvear would be allowed a free hand in the executive administration of the Government, and that Sr. Irigoyen would maintain his leadership of the Radical Party. Dr. Alvear made the proviso then that he should receive Congressional support in the projects of laws which he deemed wise. Whether Sr. Irigoyen consented to this is not known. Congress, however, did not support Dr. Alvear as was evidenced by habitual sessions without a quorum.

It looks as if a wide breach was made finally by the appointment by Dr. Alvear of Dr. Vicente G. Gallo as Minister of the Interior; although Dr. Gallo is a Radical, he is a bitter enemy of Sr. Irigoyen.

ARGENTINA
Political-Military

Another "anti-personalist" incident took place in the Senate on May 6, 1924 when the Vice-president of the Republic, Dr. Elpidio Gonzalez, (nephew of the ex-President, Dr. Hipolito Irigoyen) President of the Senate, made certain statements considered insulting by the members of the Senate, and a vote of censure was passed on the conduct of the Vice-President of the Republic by the "anti-personalist" bloc on May 8th, also a resolution demanding that amends should be made by him to the Senate.

Socialist Party: Reform of the Constitution, including: Parliamentary form of Government. Election of the President by Congress. Parliamentary representation of the territories. Separation of church from state. Suppression of the Senate. Parliamentary control of foreign relations. Divorce law. Civil and political rights for women. Improved currency and opening of the Caja de Conversion.

While the Socialist party has made immense strides since 1916, especially in the industrial centers of Buenos Aires, it is very much in the minority, and occupies the role of the opposition in the existing government. Dr. Mario Bravo is the leader of the party. He resigned this leadership and also his senatorship for the Capital on March 25, 1924, but acceding to pressing requests from his party and influences brought to bear, Dr. Bravo withdrew dual resignation. * It is reported that one of the chief arguments used in bringing about the withdrawal was the fact that he was returned to Congress not alone by his actual political followers, but by thousands of independent voters as well.

3. The Government.

The present Radical administration, with Dr. Marcelo T. de Alvear as President and Dr. Elpidio Gonzalez as Vice-President, was inaugurated October 12, 1922, for a term of six years. The Cabinet which is composed of Radicals is as follows:

Minister of the Interior.....Dr. Vicente G. Gallo

Minister of Foreign Affairs
and Worship.....Dr. Angel Gallardo

Minister of Finance.....Dr. Victor Molina

Minister of Justice and
Public Instruction.....Dr. Adolfo Sagarna

Minister of War.....Brig. Gen. Agustin P.
Justo.

Minister of Marine.....Admiral Manuel D. Garcia

Minister of Agriculture.....Dr. Tomas A. Lebreton

Minister of Public Works.....Dr. Eufasio Lora.

The new government has indicated its purpose of complying strictly with the constitution and existing law in regard to federal intervention in the provinces, which is quite at variance with the policy of the former Executive. Cabinet officers are making a concerted effort to straighten out the administrative services under their charge, investigation irregularities, cutting down expenses, etc.; this fearless and energetic policy received and is receiving general commendation, and the President has been

CONFIDENTIAL

ARGENTINA
Political---Military

assured of co-operation by the most influential, financial and commercial elements of the country.

4. Bearing of internal political situation on international relations and issues.

It would appear that during the World War, at least---the fact that the Radicals were in power, prevented Argentina from going in on the side of the Allies. This, however, might be considered a personal issue with President Irigoyen, who was strongly pro-German. Subsequent to the war it is generally understood, the Germans have not found any particular obstacles placed in their way to carry out whatever schemes are possible for them to accomplish in Argentina insofar as the unfavorable exchange permits.

5. Regional and racial differences; separatist movements.

None.

6. Foreign influences in internal politics.

Argentina's aspirations are fundamentally based on her economic strength derived from an enormous production and exportation of essential foodstuffs (in normal times). Pride in her rapid development and economic importance leads Argentina to believe that she is able to exist and progress without foreign aid or interference. She is therefore pro-Argentine and independent in attitude and does not favor entangling alliances. On account of financial difficulties resulting from post-war conditions, she has been forced to contract large foreign loans, Great Britain having preserved a financial domination up to the present time.

III. Foreign policies and relations.

1. General aims, important policies or doctrines.

Internal affairs in Argentina the past few years have so outweighed international ones that her foreign policy has been rather indefinite and obscure. She has been particularly free from the heritages of Colonial boundary disputes, which have predisposed the other South American States to dissension and war. However, she has become indirectly drawn into the political discussions resulting from the alignment and grouping of other countries and factors, precipitated and continued by the long drawn out "Question of the Pacific" controversy involving Peru, Chile and Bolivia. Argentina is disposed to be suspicious of her immediate neighbors who are formidable rivals.

The dominating idea for many years, especially during the World War, was antagonism to the influence of the United States, fostered by a pro-German government and an indifferent neutrality. After the war, however, she was quick to realize the disadvantage gained by this policy, and the advantage gained by Brasil and Peru in casting their lot with the Allies.

As demonstrated by the Argentine Delegation's attitude in the first assembly of the League of Nations, Argentina demanded compulsory arbitration except on questions of interior policy; also Argentina required that all members of the Council of the League of Nations should be elected by Assembly, thus establishing the democratic principle in international affairs.

Argentina also insisted on the right of all nations to become members of the League of Nations upon application only.

CENTURY
ARGENTINA
Political-Military

When Argentina's amendments were not accepted, she withdrew from the Assembly. What the real object was in doing so has never been ascertained, whether due to Germanophile sentiment or to a desire to place Argentina in a prominent position and act differently from Brazil.

Summing up it may be stated briefly that Argentina's general aims are preponderance in South American affairs, and important policies or doctrines are fashioned towards this end; however, there is no suspicion of a policy of aggression. She desires to be the leader and mediator in South America, and resents any attempt by an outside power to take a hand in the arbitration of disputes.

2. Relations to other important powers: alliances or ententes.

There are no alliances or ententes, with the exception of the so called A.B.C. Alliance (Argentina, Brazil and Chile) which was signed, but never ratified by Argentina.

Argentina in (December 1922) refused Brazil's invitation for a conference of the A.B.C. countries to discuss the question of armaments, as a preliminary to the Pan-American Conference which opened in Chile, March 25, 1923. She stated, through her foreign Minister that her principle of continental solidarity and the fact the smaller nations were not included, obliged her to refuse, thus illustrating her policy of international independence.

Argentina's relations with other countries may be briefly summed up as follows:

Chile: Argentina and Chile were more or less associated in the past by a common antagonism to Brazil, and a policy of neutrality and pro-Germanism during the war. However, this Argentine-Chilean rapport no longer exists and Argentina's sympathy has gradually drifted away from Chile toward Peru and Bolivia. Argentina feels particularly antagonistic towards Chile at present, for bringing up the question of the limitation of armaments, which subject Chile proposed for inclusion in the agenda of the Pan American Conference which opened March 25, 1923, in Santiago. Argentine politicians, however, have been very astute and have negotiated a treaty with Chile for the construction of two new trans-Andean railways between the two countries, and have gained material advantages for Argentina.

Brazil: Argentina and Brazil are not in accord and regard each other with distrust and jealousy, as both aspire to be leader in South American affairs. Both countries desire to extend their influence in Uruguay and Paraguay, although neither one seems inclined to press this matter to the point of a serious quarrel. The refusal of Argentina to accept Brazil's invitation to a preliminary A.B.C. conference for a discussion of armaments, coupled with the fact that Brazil has contracted for and accepted the services of a United States Naval Mission, caused a storm of protest in the Argentine press, against both Brazil and the United States.

As a result of the Santiago Conference and the failure of the A.B.C. countries to reach an agreement as to the limitation of armaments, Argentina has outlined a new plan for the reorganization of her lines of national defense. Congress sanctioned the credit of 100,000,000 gold pesos for this object in November, 1923, which includes the plans for the purchase of armaments, sanitary materials and the erection of barracks for

ARGENTINA
Political---Military

the army. The government has no expectation of immediately raising this large sum, but its expenditure will be divided into sums to be appropriated during future years. In view of the general interest shown in Argentina's new military policy, and the persistent circulating rumors presenting the Argentine government as inspired by "armamentist" intentions, the Foreign Office sent a circular letter to all Argentine Diplomatic Missions abroad stating its reasons for taking these steps at the present time, and reaffirming its repudiation of the idea of "armed peace" and its willingness to consider any proposal to limit military expenditures.

Peru and Bolivia: Argentina seems to favor Peru and Bolivia of late, and to desire closer commercial relations with these countries, and is endeavoring to strengthen these relations by political friendship. The Peruvian Centennial celebration in 1920 was made the occasion of a great show of friendship with the Peruvians, and gifts of a substantial nature were made by Argentina. It is believed Argentina would rather see the port of Arica in possession of either Peru or Bolivia, than Chile, for here is the natural outlet for northern Argentina.

Argentina has no particular affiliation with or policy toward the rest of South America, except that of friendliness.

Germany: Argentina was strongly pro-German during the War, and while she later realized the mistake of being on the wrong side, the Germans in Argentina have not suffered since and have had no difficulties placed in their way in an effort to regain their prestige.

Great Britain: Relations between Argentina and Great Britain are entirely cordial and there are no political questions of importance between them, with the possible exception of a slight degree of resentment against Great Britain for the ownership of the Falkland Islands, and for falling off of trade since the war.

France: The French Government has issued a decree whereby full recognition of Argentine limited companies having branches in her territory will now be given, thus abolishing the vexatious difficulties which Argentine companies have long endured in an effort to carry on negotiations in France. The new regulation applies to all but insurance companies.

United States: While the attitude of the Government toward the United States is friendly, public opinion is very unfavorable, particularly since the sending of a Naval Mission by the United States to Brazil. The present serious exchange situation is blamed on American banking circles. Argentina's diplomatic representatives throughout Latin America, as a rule, are anti-American in sentiment. This was the case in Mexico and Central America particularly, and Argentina watches very closely all United States policies and relations with the other Latin countries. She is resentful of United States mediation in South American affairs, wishing to be the leader herself.

The oil scandals have received considerable attention in the local press, and American business and bureaucratic methods have been scathingly criticized.

3. General International Situation.

Argentina has no serious international political disputes to settle as she has been particularly careful to keep clear of entangling alliances. Her most serious international problems are of an economic and financial nature, resulting from her loss

ARGENTINA
Political-Military.

of world markets, and from the generally disturbed economic and financial conditions left by the War. Nevertheless, the magnificent crop of 1923-1924 and huge exportations are rapidly bringing about a readjustment, and the future has assumed a much brighter aspect.

This situation has been vigorously taken hold of by the new administration, and much improvement is already evident.

NOTE: For additional detailed information on this subject, see Information Digest in the Military Intelligence Division

NO OBJECTS IDENTIFIED
4-1

G-2 REPORT

2657-2-72

2

SUBJECT--POLITICAL-----ARGENTINA

(FOR INFORMATION-DIGEST)

From--ARGENTINA

No. 3347

Date--August 26, 1924

Replying to No.

Date--

RECEIVED G/2 W.D., OCT 3-1924

3800: Foreign Affairs-general.

Recent and current trend towards active participation in international politics.

Once more the Executive Power has found it necessary to request Congress to consider the question of the representation of the Argentine Republic in the League of Nations. On August 20, 1924 a Presidential Message was sent to Congress reminding the Legislature that on June 6, 1923 and on June 23, 1924 the Executive Power asked for a definitive pronouncement regarding the adhesion accorded by it to the Pact of the League of Nations. The Message added: "The Argentine Government has been invited to send delegates to the fifth assembly of the League which is to take place at Geneva on September 1. The Executive Power does not consider that it should take any steps whatever in the matter of this invitation without a resolution of the Congress of the Nation, and in view of the imminence of the date of the assembly, it reiterates to Your Honours its requests for a decision in order that the Executive Power may act in accordance therewith."

At date of writing Congress has as yet made no pronouncement.

Binding Margin.

3700: Political Parties and Groups.

The Radical Party is now definitely split, the anti-personalists having succeeded in forming a new party, though keeping the old name. The decision of the anti-personalist (Alvearistas) members of both the Senate and Chamber of Deputies to effect a reorganization of the party was reported some time ago, and at a meeting held on August 23rd, which was presided over by Senator Torino, the final rupture was definitely effected. This undoubtedly is a clear indication of the steadily weakening position of the Irigoyenists, and it would seem that their day, as far as any political potency is concerned, is about over.

#3347

Report O.M.A. August 26, 1924.

G-2 REPORT

SUBJECT POLITICAL-----ARGENTINA

(FOR INFORMATION DIGEST)

From ARGENTINA

No. 3361 Date October 22, 1924.

Replying to No. Date, 19

3800: Foreign Affairs---General.

Recent and current trend towards active participation in international politics.

On September 17th ult. the Committee of the Chamber of Deputies issued a note advising postponement of a decision regarding representation of the Argentine Republic in the League of Nations.

The decision or note reads as follows:

"The matter submitted for our consideration is complex and of an importance too grave to be resolved under pressure. The fact that it is the pact of the League of Nations, an integral part of the Treaty of Versailles, and the fact that the League is the fiduciary of this extensive Treaty, which provides for and regulates innumerable situations of a political, economic, military, and territorial nature, which are entirely foreign to the interests of our nation, would induce this committee to defer its decision at least until it may know the conclusions of the Fifth Assembly of the League, to convene on the 1st of September, and the outcome of the international conferences for proposing amendments to the Treaty of Versailles now taking place in Europe."

On August 28th the Chamber of Deputies sanctioned a motion, emanating from the Socialist sector, to the effect that the Minister for Foreign Affairs be requested to state what are the present relations between the Argentine Republic and the Russian Soviet, and whether there was now an accredited diplomatic representative of that Government in this country. On September 10th the President replied as follows:

"I have the honor to reply to the communication of the President (Chamber of Deputies), with which was transmitted the resolution of the Chamber soliciting information, in writing, with respect to 'what are the relations existing between the Argentine Republic and the Russian Socialist Republic of the Soviets; and if there is in the country a representative or diplomatic agent of that Republic accredited before the Argentine Government.' In reply to those two points it is stated:

- 1° That no relations exist.
- 2° That there is not in the country a representative or diplomatic agent of that Republic."

In connection with the foregoing see Report #3347, dated Aug. 26, 1924.

Binding Margin.

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G-2 REPORT

31

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3

SUBJECT POLITICAL-----ARGENTINA

CLASSIFICATION CAN BE
By authority letter of Dec 11
1960 from 3850 to 100-100
By 41
Date 5-22-69

(FOR INFORMATION DIGEST)

From ARGENTINA

No. 3479 Date July 26, 1925

Replying to No. Date 19

3850: Foreign Relationships.

At present the general aims of Argentina in her foreign policy appear to be to foster more amicable relations and better understanding between herself and foreign nations, and [at present her relations with her neighbors in South America seem very friendly. With respect to Brazil, however, underneath a cloak of friendliness, there is no doubt that there is a feeling of suspicion and antagonism as Argentina does not want to be outstripped by Brazil in South American leadership]

[Argentina was one of the charter members of the League of Nations. After joining due to the attitude of her pro-German President, Dr. Irigoyen, maintaining the attitude that all nations should be authorized to join the League on equal footing (including Germany) and failing to carry his point, had the Argentine delegation headed by Dr. Honorio Pueyrredon, withdraw from the League in 1920.]

For several years the country failed to pay its quota, and lost interest in what the league was doing, and no Argentine delegate was present at its deliberations. In June 1923, however, Congress voted a sum of over \$400,000 gold for subscriptions from 1919 to 1923 inclusive, and at the present time Argentina is a member in good standing of the League of Nations. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that Argentina is a nation greatly interested in league affairs, and it is probable that Argentina's reentry in the League was influenced by Brazil's activities in it.

Concerning Argentina's relations with other important powers they may be stated briefly as follows:

Brazil.

Argentina regards Brazil as her chief rival in South America and perhaps as her most logical enemy in war. Her army appears to be located with this possibility in view. Most of her units are within easy access of the Brazilian frontier. There seems to be a rivalry between these two countries as to their influence in Uruguay and Paraguay, and each likes to consider herself as leader in South American affairs.

Chile.

Of late Argentina's relations with Chile have become more cordial. There is not much antagonism between the two countries apparently. Argentina feels that now she has outclassed Chile so greatly on population and wealth that there is no further cause for rivalry. Argentina looked upon President Coolidge's Taos-Arica award with favor, but possibly general sentiment favors Peru.

Binding Margin.

Other South American countries.

Argentina is on very friendly terms with all other South American countries. She has no cause for rivalry with them, and during the last year has shown on several occasions her friendship toward them in different ways.

Spain.

Argentina regards Spain as the "mother country" and shows no spirit of resentment toward her as a result of her war of independence. At present they are very friendly toward each other.

France and Italy.

Argentina admires these countries greatly and tries to copy them in a cultural way. She considers these countries as centers of all art, music and literature. A large part of the Argentine population is of French or Italian stock.

Great Britain.

Argentina is very friendly with Great Britain. There are no great differences between them, and a large part of Argentina's exports go to Great Britain. The intended visit of the Prince of Wales to Argentina will have considerable influence in bringing about even closer relations between the two countries.

United States.

While the attitude of the Government toward the United States is friendly, the Argentine people as a whole are not especially friendly toward the United States, and they resent the United States' leadership in the Americas. She especially resents the patronizing attitude of some American individuals toward the country. As a whole the country may be compared to an individual with an exaggerated idea of his own importance.

The foreign relations of Argentina are very satisfactory. She is not involved in any international disputes, and she is free from any entangling alliances. Her economic and financial situation are rapidly improving, and her currency now is almost on par with the American dollar. With the improved internal conditions a more rapid period of development may be expected.

G-2 Report

4-1 2657-2-72

3850

ARGENTINA-----Political.

Subject: Foreign Relationships.

(a) Foreign Interests.

At present there is no conflict of national interests on the part of Argentina with other nations. There has been a controversy with the Vatican relative to the appointment of an Archbishop in Buenos Aires which has at times during the last eighteen months threatened the separation of the Church and State.

Argentina has three small boundary disputes with Bolivia, Uruguay and Paraguay which have caused no ill feeling between the countries concerned and they are now well on the way toward a settlement. Her relationship with other foreign nations is excellent, and it is the policy of the present administration to maintain these relations. [She was allied with Brazil and Uruguay in a war against Paraguay in 1865-1870, but since that date has not entered into any alliance with other nations.]

(b) Attitude toward Panamericanism.

The attitude of the government toward Panamericanism is more or less indifferent, and it displays no special enthusiasm on this subject. There are a group of intellectuals of which Dr. Alfredo Palacios, a professor in La Plata University, and Dr. José Ingenieros, and José Leon Suarez are leaders, and they look upon Panamericanism with more or less hostility and suspicion. They believe that the United States Government is actuated by imperialistic motives in every gesture made on this continent. This group favors a union and closer cooperation of Latin American states.

(c) National reaction towards the Monroe Doctrine.

The same can be said in regard to the Monroe Doctrine as is said about Panamericanism. However, at the time of the Centenary of the Monroe Doctrine, about two years ago, public opinion as expressed in the press was on the whole favorable. Nevertheless, Argentina, like some of the other South American nations, is jealous of her autonomy and any idea of the United States exercising a sort of guardianship by means of the Monroe Doctrine is obnoxious. The Monroe Doctrine in the opinion of many, places Argentina in the position of a "weaker sister republic" which hurts her pride.

(d) Attitude towards the League of Nations.

Argentina's attitude towards the League of Nations, however favorable is not enthusiastic. [Argentina withdrew from the League in 1920 on account of disagreements, and in 1923 she paid her dues which were in arrears, and again became a member in good standing. She has not been particularly active in League affairs, and does not seem to display a great deal of interest in them.]

From: M.A. Buenos Aires

Report #3561

Dec. 1, 1935.

(e) Pan Latinism.

There is no government attitude towards Pan Latinism. There are intellectual leaders who frequently write on the subject advocating a closer relationship between Latin American nations. Individuals as a rule are favorable to Latin nations in preference to others as the Argentine people come almost entirely from Latin stock. Wealthy Argentines who travel abroad spend most of their time in France, Spain and Italy, and they are sentimentally inclined towards Latinism. This does not seem to be an important issue and is not making any particular headway.

From: M.A.Buenos Aires

Report #3561

Dec.1,1925.

G-2 REPORT

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE

4-1 1925 2657-2-72
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WAR DEPARTMENT

SUBJECT--POLITICAL---ARGENTINA-----

----- (FOR INFORMATION DIGEST) -----

From ARGENTINA-----

No. 3505----- Date----- September 10-----, 1925

Replying to No.----- Date----- 1-1925----- 19

3850: Foreign Relationships.

The foreign relations of Argentina with other powers seem to be excellent with perhaps one exception, and that is Brazil. [Although there is no bone of contention between these two countries] the Argentines hate Brazilians considering them a mongrel race on account of the large percentage of negro mixture in the people. [The Argentine Government] also greatly distrusts the Brazilian Government and resents any influence which Brazil might exert in Paraguay and Uruguay, which act as buffer states between the countries. She also desires to be the leader in South American affairs, which Brazil also claims.]

[Argentina has small boundary dispute questions with Uruguay, Paraguay and Bolivia, but these are of minor importance and involve little territory, and are well on the road of settlement, not seeming to affect the cordial relations between the two countries. Paraguay also owes Argentina a war indemnity which will probably be cancelled. At present the relations with Chile seem to be very satisfactory as well as with all other South American countries.] Political subdivisions or colonies have no effect on conduct of foreign affairs. These are directed very efficiently at this time by President Alvear and [Dr. Gallardo, the Minister of Foreign Affairs.]

Binding Margin.

G-2 Report

3850

ARGENTINA ----- POLITICAL

Subject: Foreign Relations.

APR 14 1926

(d) Attitude toward the League of Nations.

The attitude lately assumed by Brazil in the League of Nations in demanding a permanent seat on the Council as representative of the American countries in the absence of the United States has caused some comment on the part of some of the Argentine press. The general opinion is that Brazil with her greater territory and population is a country of smaller importance than Argentina with her greater wealth and efficiency. The Brazilian attitude has been discussed a good deal, and although Argentina, which has always been a lukewarm member of the League of Nations, resents the Brazilian Government's patronising outlook toward other South American countries especially herself.

The following are extracts from an editorial in "La Nación" of March 12th:

"Neither the central geographical situation nor territorial extension, nor length of coastline can authorize an excluding preference, especially a position of kind patriarch among neighbors who are territorially smaller. Any American nation, regardless of its size, has not only the right but the duty of fulfilling this task of pacifism.

"More efficacious arguments in support of an ambition for preferential international rank are those of territorial importance and density of population. When these facts are representative of real force, they have, without doubt, considerable merit, but it is necessary that this really be the case. But in these matters it is very necessary to establish the facts with clarity and to avoid confusion between real value and apparent values. We do not believe that the size and population of a nation confer upon it the exercise of superiority or greatness. To begin with, no nation, because of its sovereign condition can admit the superiority of any other nation; the equality of nations is the essential principle of the rights of the people. But, even in the question of material value, neither population nor territorial extension reveal, in themselves, relative grades of greatness. That which really matters in such cases is the efficiency which belongs to any nation by virtue of its material strength, of its influence in international trade, its possibilities for immediate expansion, in a word, by virtue of what it pays and receives for its activity in international relations.

"From this point of view, Brazil could not, even distantly aspire to represent Latin America in the international community. Could such a representation be granted no one could deny it to Argentina whose situation presupposes such a state of good fortune that it has a place in the universal conscience. Our country, in production, valued in money, trade and wealth, is equal to all the rest of South America. The figures of our annually produced wealth is almost exactly equivalent to that of all the other nations, including Brazil,

From: Report #3602
M.A. Buenos Aires

March 23, 1926.

ARGENTINA-----POLITICAL

Subject: Foreign Relations.

(a) Attitude toward the League of Nations.

from which it will be seen that our territorial extension, less than half that of Brazil, and our population, which is one-third the Brazilian population, according to official figures, possess, on the other hand, an efficiency which greatly exceeds the numerical consideration. This is because both the land and the population are elements which in themselves depend on the function they fulfill, and the manner in which that function is fulfilled. Just as no acre of land is exactly equal to any other, so no man is exactly equal to any other man as a social, cultural and economic unit. Very often there is an atyess between the two as far as their efficiency is concerned, and the same occurs when social masses are confronted, one with the other. This accounts for such small countries as Belgium, for example being more important than Russia or Turkey; and for a nation like Japan being a great power before which China and India, with their enormous territories and dense populations, disappear because of the action and influence which the former exercises.

The case is repeated as regards Argentina and Brazil. Consider the figures. The imports of Argentina are valued at 843 million dollars as compared with 230 million dollars for Brazil; the exports are 748 million dollars as compared with 335 million. As regards all the South American countries combined, Argentina's total foreign trade-----imports and exports-----is valued at 1590 million dollars as compared with 1578 million dollars for Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, Peru, Colombia, Bolivia, Ecuador, Venezuela, Paraguay combined.

But other elements reflect the efficiency of the Argentine nation. Argentina possesses 42 percent of all the railroads in South America, but their operation indicates an even greater efficiency, since Argentina's share is 60 percent of the whole. Passenger traffic is a good index of the life of a people and 57 percent of all the passenger traffic of South America is in Argentina while Brazil has 30 percent. Argentina has 45 percent of all the telephone lines in South America, Brazil 26 percent. Argentina possesses 60 percent of the automobiles in South America and Brazil 31 percent. Postal movement presupposes commerce, culture, wealth and world-wide relations and Argentina has 60 percent of all the postal movement in South America; Brazil 26 percent. Even more important are the telegraphic communications. Argentina has 61 percent of all the telegraph lines in South America; Brazil, 18 percent. As for gold reserves, the distance between the two countries takes on an astronomical aspect since Argentina holds 73 percent of the gold in South America and Brazil less than 5 percent. Figured on a per capita basis, Argentina has 52.26 of gold for every inhabitant, while Brazil has \$1.12. Argentina spends 180 million pesos for public instruction and has 46,000 school teachers, figures which are not equalled by all the rest of South America put together. As pointed out by Dr. Montes de Oca in the last Panamerican Conference, Argentina has two school teacher for every soldier, while the other countries of

From:.....#3602

March 23, 1926.

A.A. Buenos Aires

ARGENTINA-----POLITICAL

Subject: Foreign Relations.

(a) Attitude toward the League of Nations.

South America have three scholars for every school teacher. Our superiority in journalism and book publishing is just as pronounced since Argentina consumes 55 percent of all the print paper sent to South America, while Brazil consumes only 34 percent of it.

To these figures, which in themselves are conclusive, must be added the consideration of population and territory. This conflux of real activity and superior life has as its field only 16 percent of the territory of South America, while Brazil has 47 percent of the continent's population. We have every motive therefore for bringing up the argument of the efficiency of a people when an effort is made to present space and numbers as conclusive arguments. It is not in the latter that we find the secrets of strength and value, but in the former, which is the vital element of progress and the decisive cause of rank from the material point of view, since as among sovereign nations all are equal as moral forces in civilization and international concord.

It has been necessary to recall these facts in order to fix the exact rank to which we belong, and we have done it without any spirit of vanity. But as it is necessary that certain arguments which at first sight are impressive be made to disappear, it is advisable that comment be reduced to proper proportions. A seat on the Council of the League of Nations is a legitimate aspiration for any nation which has joined that organization of peace and international balance. But it should be obtained on merits not associated with topographical accidents and the insignificant relation of territorial extension and population of the applicant, and above all it should be obtained on the clear understanding that the nation which obtains it does not represent either many or few powers which enjoy the same sovereignty that it does. It will perform only one mission in the concourse of nations, without its activities being expressions of other autonomous wills, and without its ideas of international politics carrying any referendum of others which possess their own means of manifesting their own ideas.

G-2 Report

CHIEF OF STAFF
ADJ. INTEL. DIV.

4-1 1926 2657-2-72
3850 7

JUN 14

POLITICAL-----ARGENTINA

Subject: Foreign Relations.

JUN 11 1926

(d) Attitude toward the League of Nations.

When the League of Nations was organized, President Alvear was Argentine Minister at Paris, and on his recommendation the Argentine Government joined the League without reservations. This action was taken by the Cabinet during a recess of Congress and when the matter was submitted to the next Congress for approval nothing was done. Then matters were complicated by the withdrawal of the Argentine delegation from the First Assembly because the League refused to vote on Argentina's motion to allow all nations to join the League on an equal footing regardless of whether they had been allies or enemies in the World War. Dr. Honorio Pueyrredon, now Ambassador at Washington, was the President of the Argentine delegation.

There appeared to be some uncertainty for a long time as to whether the withdrawal of the Argentine delegation from the First Assembly constituted a resignation from the League or whether it was merely a withdrawal from that particular Assembly. Finally it was decided not to consider the withdrawal a resignation.

In the meantime, there had been a national election in Argentina and Dr. Alvear was called home from Paris to assume the presidency of the republic. One of the first things he did was to submit the League of Nations matter to Congress, and he and the Cabinet have made several efforts since to have Congress ratify Argentina's membership in the League, but so far this has not been done, although Congress has appropriated the funds for paying the countries membership dues. So, as far as the League authorities are concerned, Argentina is a member of the League in good standing, although the membership has no legal standing locally.

Membership in the League was one of the matters before the recent extraordinary session of Congress and several notes were sent to Congress asking that it be given special attention. When it became apparent that politics were interfering with legislative operations to such an extent that there was no possibility of Congress acting on any of the matters which had been submitted to the extraordinary session, President Alvear closed the session, withdrew the agenda from further consideration, and put into effect by Executive Decree, as provided in the Constitution, such matters as were of pressing importance.

One of these decrees accepted the invitation of the League of Nations to be represented on the two commissions. Two meetings of the Cabinet were occupied solely with consideration of this question before the decree was finally issued. It reads as follows:

"In view of the invitations which have been made by the Council of the League of Nations for the Argentine Government to appoint delegates to represent it on the commission for the study of the amendments to be introduced in the constitution of the Council of the League, and on the commission for the preparation of the Disarmament Conference; also to appoint military and naval experts to both commissions, the President of the Argentine Nation, in exercise of the prerogatives conferred by Art. 86, Clause 14

From:..... Report # 3620

May 11, 1926.

POLITICAL-----ARGENTINA

Subject: Foreign Relations.

of the National Constitution, decrees:

"Art.1.- Dr. Tomás A. Le Breton is herewith appointed delegate of the Argentine Government to the Commission which will study the reorganization of the Council of the League of Nations, and Dr. Fernando Perez as delegate to the Commission for the preparation of the Disarmament Conference which assembles at Geneva next May; also Dr. José María Cantilo in the character of Councillor and substitute of both delegates, and Sr. Felipe A. Espil as Secretary of the Delegation.

"Art.2.- Colonel Manuel A. Rodriguez is herewith nominated as military expert, and Captain Jorge Gamez as naval expert, on the preparatory Commission and on the Permanent Consulting Disarmament Commission.

"Art.3.- Be it communicated to whom it concerns, published in the Official Bulletin, and sent to the National Registry. Alvear---Angel Gallardo."

The Cabinet and other leaders in Argentina's government recognize the importance of membership in the League of Nations and there does not appear ever to have been any very serious opposition to it in Congress. The League, like the Budget has simply become a political issue in Congress, and at the present writing there is no indication that Argentina will be able to send a delegation to the next League Assembly.

From: *R. W. Tamm*... Report #3630
M. A. Buenos Aires

May 11, 1926.

G-2 Report

POLITICAL-----ARGENTINA

Subject: Foreign Relations.

(a) Status of Relations with Foreign Countries.

Brazil.

There is a mutual antipathy between the Argentine and Brazilian races. Both nations resulted from a different class of immigration. They speak different languages and their customs are different from each other. The average Argentine dislikes a Brazilian, and considers him as an inferior individual to himself, probably on account of the large Negro mixture in the Brazilian race.

Brazil and Argentina were at war in 1825 in which Argentina was victorious. This war however more than 100 years old has left its imprint on the relations between the two countries.

At present Brazil and Argentina are the two most powerful countries in South America. [Brazil has about three times the population, and over twice the area of Argentina, but Argentina outstrips her in wealth and commerce.]

Each nation wishes to be considered the leading nation of Latin America on account of some qualification whereby she considers herself as superior to her rival.

[There is no boundary dispute between the two nations, and neither covets any territory from the other. The governments are friendly with each other, but there seems to be a natural antipathy toward each other on the part of the people due to race hatred and rivalries for Latin American leadership.]

The general feeling in Argentina is that the next war which Argentina engages in will be against Brazil, and each country has their army located with this in view.

Both Argentina and Brazil desire to have more influence one than the other in the two buffer states of Paraguay and Uruguay.

In case of any general war in South America, it is most probable that Brazil and Argentina would be found on opposite sides.

From: *Rev. D. J. ...* Report #3653

July 7, 1936.

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3820. PRINCIPAL FOREIGN POLICIES

The predominating influences in Argentine foreign policies are racial ties and economic interests.

The first is very strong and daily occurrences may be cited as illustrations. This racial influence comes not only from the mother country, but as well (and in one case probably stronger) from the native sons of the immigrants who have since settled in the country. Their cultural influence is all Latin American.

[Argentina being an agricultural country, with a surplus of such products for sale, and having to go into foreign markets for all her needs other than food; economics have a great influence on her foreign policies. She has in the past welcomed foreign capital in development of industries, railroads, etc. Only recently has some feeling been aroused against foreign capital, and that is only when a foreign owned industry competes with a native owned one. Recently much is heard of "Buy from those who buy from us". Such an idea being economically unsound will have little effect. The people will always buy where it profits them most.

[Argentina's present Administration favors the League of Nations. Congress each year, however, has refused to do more than appropriate funds for an unofficial observer.

[The Drago Doctrine is well rooted in the opinion of the public here. The Argentine people resent very much the intervention of the United States in Nicaragua, and pass up no opportunity to give expression to their feelings.

[Argentina does not look with favor on, or exhibit much interest in, Pan Americanism. She has assumed an attitude that she can expect more from the League of Nations and Europe (except to borrow money) than from any closer union with American countries.

Argentina is on friendly terms with all her neighbours, and has no territorial expansion ideas. She is however pro-Argentine and leaves no leaf unturned to advance her own position and aims to maintain herself as the most important country in South America.


Sources:

Newspapers.

Argentine writers, Urquarte and others.

Report No. 3789.

Buenos Aires, May 3rd, 1937.


C. T. Richardson
Major G. S. M. A.

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(1) Status of relations with foreign countries.

Argentina and Spain:

The foreign relations of Argentina are governed principally by two things, racial ties and economic interests. With Spain the latter is of little importance. However, due to the former the relations between the two countries are very close. For example the participation in the exhibition now being prepared in Seville is perhaps the most elaborate and expensive that Argentina has ever made. The reasons for the very friendly feeling are clear, Spain is the mother country, the language being common to both nations, their literature is also common, and since Spain has the larger literary production its effect is tremendous in influencing public opinion.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1931.

(a) Argentine Relations with Italy and France.

Argentine Relations with Italy and France:

Italy's case is very much the same as that of Spain. The two million Italians in this country, with an equal number of people of the same descent, make the racial ties very strong. The Italians through their "Instituto de Cultura Italiana" have brought to this country prominent lecturers, many of whom are men of letters, of science, and former Prime Ministers.

France has a similar institution known as the "Alliance Francaise" which has endeavored to produce the same results, and in the past has brought out such men as Anatole de France, Clemenceau, Briand, etc. The French population is rather small but quite energetic. In the subways etc., may be seen such posters as - "It is a patriotic duty to contribute to the development of Franco-American trade."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

30.

(a) Status of relations with foreign countries.

Argentina and England:

The leading factor in the economic influence of Argentine foreign policy, is England. For many years England has invested capital in large quantities in railroads and in the animal industry. Some of these industries in times passed rendered very little return on the funds invested. This fact has been impressed very strongly on the Argentine mind, and through clever propaganda England has brought herself in the happy position to have the Argentines believe that all her investments are for the benefit of Argentina, in contributing to the development of the nation.

A question that has been pending between Argentina and England for some time, and to which this country has devoted a lot of thought and literature, is the English possession of the Islas Malvinas (The Falkland Islands). These were taken by England in 1833 and have been retained ever since. At intervals since that time the Argentine Government has filed a protest, and it was only recently that it was proposed by Argentina that the problem should be solved by Arbitration. So far England has not answered the proposal.

3050.

(a). Status of Relations with Foreign Countries.

Argentina and Paraguay:

[During the years 1865 to 1870 Argentina joined Brazil and Uruguay in a war against Paraguay, which destroyed so many of the male population that the country has not recovered to this date. The present attitude of Argentina towards Paraguay is more or less a feeling of regret for that war. This is shown by Argentina not insisting on the payment of the war debts, and at times has considered their abolition. Argentina also makes certain concessions to Paraguay in the use of rivers for commerce.]

[Up to 1878 there was much controversy between Argentina and Paraguay over the possession of the region called Chaco Paraguayo, the region comprised by the islands of Apipe and Yacinrete on the River Parana and that of Cerrito on the junction of the Parana and Paraguay. These disputes were settled in that year by arbitration through the United States. Argentina retained the islands of Cerrito and Apipe, and the rest of the contested territory was given to Paraguay.]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3050.

(a) Status of relations with foreign countries.

Argentina and Uruguay:

The feeling of Argentina for Uruguay is very friendly, although there is now pending a problem of importance for Argentina - [The division of the La Plata river between the two countries. Argentina claims that the boundaries should be the lines of the deepest channel. Against this claim is the proposal of the Uruguayans to make the waters international at a distance beyond thirty five miles from the coast. Such a solution would take away from Argentina the island of Martin Garcia which dominates the entrance to the rivers Uruguay and Parana. These two rivers are the main arteries of the La Plata river, and the water ways leading to the Eastern Argentine provinces. In 1916 a treaty between Uruguay and Argentina settled the question of the possession of the islands in the river Uruguay, this boundary was determined along Argentine proposals, that is the line of the deepest channel. It is very possible that this will be the solution of the La Plata river problem.]

CONFIDENTIAL

2010.

(a) Status of Relations with Foreign Countries.

Argentina and Brazil:

[There is, and there has existed for many years, a feeling of rivalry between these two countries.] This feeling has been expressed in various manners at international gatherings and in the press of both countries.

[In 1890 there were several boundary disputes in the North which in 1895 were settled by President Cleveland, in which Argentina lost 25,000 kilometers of the territory she claimed.

The bad feeling between Argentina and Brazil was further increased in 1923 as a result of the Pan American Conference. During the discussion of limitation of arms, Argentina desired a general discussion with all the South American Republics. Brazil argued against the limitation of arms, on account of the long coast line to guard and defend. Later when Brazil asked for a United States Naval mission, there was a general outburst of condemnation against her, and Argentina in 1924 made considerable appropriations to increase Army and Navy.

At present there are no questions pending between the two countries, but it is evident that there is considerable jealousy and probably envy, because of an idea that Argentina has, that Brazil is inclined to lean towards and follow the United States on questions of an international nature.]

CONFIDENTIAL

3850.

(a) Status of Relations with Foreign Countries.

Argentina and Chile:

[There was formerly much more jealousy and rivalry between Chile and Argentina than at present. Argentina now feels that she has advanced financially and economically so far ahead of Chile that she no longer thinks of her as a rival in the political or economic world.]

There were two very serious questions between the two countries back in 1900 with reference to the boundaries in the Andes territory and further South in Patagonia. The first was settled by Mr. Buchanan, under which Argentina received three quarters of the disputed territory; and the second by King Edward in 1902, in which Argentina received less than half of the land she demanded.

At the present time there is a question of minor importance pending between the two countries as to the possession of two islands near the entrance of the Beagle Canal. This matter has been referred to Great Britain but no decision has yet been made.

During the Tacna and Arica discussion, Argentina remained absolutely neutral, and the press seemed to approve the action taken by the United States. [In spite of the neutral position it is believed that Argentina feels more friendly to Peru than to Chile.]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2090.

(a) ~~Latin~~ Relations with Foreign Countries.

Argentina and Perú:

Traditionally the attitude of Argentina towards Peru has been most friendly, and some writers attribute it to a considerable extent, to the fact that the Peruvian territories were lost to Chile, at a time when Chile was passing through a period of expansion which threatened to bring her in conflict with Argentina, or challenge the leadership of the latter in South America.

One evidence of the friendship of Argentina for the Peruvians in the past is that many prominent Argentines, including a former President, Roque Sáenz Peña, served in the Peruvian army during some of their early wars. There are assertions at the present time that this traditional friendship is somewhat dying out. If correct this might be explained as due to some extent to the dictatorial government of President Augusto Leguía, and to a feeling by Argentina that Peru responds too easily to the policies of the United States.]

3850.

(a) Status of Relations with Foreign Countries.

Argentina and Bolivia:

See Report No. 3680, Index Number 3850, stated as covering requirements in Evaluation Report of recent date.

CONFIDENTIAL

100.

(a) Status of relations with foreign countries.

Argentina and the United States of America.

The relations between these two countries as explained under (b), (c) and (d) of this chapter cover all phases of political relations except one which is at present very strong and the domination for most of which comes from the United States, propaganda.

The British are very active now in trying to reestablish their trade with the Argentine. The British Minister has been absent from his post the last six months, and has been making speeches in all parts of England, trying to awaken the British trade. His policy has been open and above board, and in attempting to make his countrymen grasp the situation he has necessarily boosted the American business by his comparisons. The British papers, however, take advantage of every move in the political and economic relations to help the British. Some of their editorials, as the one in the Herald of April 1st, are quite harsh against us. I will quote one part:

"We have definitely asserted that the U.S. officials were wrong in trying to protect the interests of their farmers by pretending that germs could be carried in frozen meat. They adopted this excuse for closure instead of asking Congress to raise the tariff wall still further, a proposition which would undoubtedly have created some public opposition. The agitation in Argentina was based on sound reason and, in the end, the U.S. Government decided diplomatically to settle the matter by requesting Full inspection in Argentina, an inspection, however, which has never been lacking. It was a graceful withdrawal from an untenable position and one would have thought that the Argentine Fourth Estate would have been pleased at its victory and have consequently reduced the volume and bitterness of its criticism. Unfortunately, we have noticed no such diminution!"

The owner of the Herald also owns the Argentine Times and it is anti-United States whenever it profits the British. Other British papers - the Standard and the Review of the River Plate are equal guardians of British interest but more dignified in their utterances.

The worst feature however, is the despatches that come from the States through the news services. The United Press serves among other papers La Prensa which never misses any anti-U.S. news. The United Press agent here is named Miller (of German extraction) and works hand and glove with the La Prensa. The Associated Press serves the Nacion. I am informed that this organization has contracts with foreign government owned or foreign government controlled news agencies for exchange of news. The result is that only censored European news reaches here through that source, while the United States news services send anything they wish from the States. Then there is the International News which sells Hearst News here. It is the weaker of the three but I feel that it tries to suppress all anti-United States news possible. That I know is the policy of the Agent here, and he is trying to impress upon his home office the Argentine situation.

All acts of the United States which they can class as blunders are magnified and promptly published by the news services here. Mr. Jardine's action on the meat and the grapes;

3050.

(c) Status of relations with foreign countries.

Argentina and the United States of America:

Mr. Hoover's speech that no more money would be loaned countries to buy munitions, while across the street Mr. Kellogg says that he knows nothing of such a policy; a report from Costa Rica that their legislature had passed a resolution of protest against Nicaragua situation which all other Latin American countries would be requested to approve, and then it would be sent to Mr. Borah; Mr. Kellogg is reported as having sent Mr. Stimson to Nicaragua with certain instructions and he immediately does things contrary to them; and the discussions of different politicians and especially Mr. Borah and Mr. Wheeler. The latter is credited with the following: "President Coolidge and Mr. Kellogg are warring against Nicaragua in the interest of Wall Street, the bankers and the big men thereof."

Then there is a writer in New York by the name of J. W. T. Mason. He is reported to be an Englishman and I have been unable to ascertain whether or not he is naturalized. Very frequently he sends down articles headed "Special for La Prensa". Yesterday there was published a full column and a half on the subject: U. S. Diplomacy in Spanish-America". Among other things he said:

"It is natural therefore that a nation should feel satisfied at the conquest of its liberty and especially if prosperity grows in the following generations. Many other countries have experienced this same sensation. But until this day, in all history the United States is the only one who geographically, has been insured against invasions, and economically, has been independent of the rest of the world. These factors have tended to augment the complacency of the nation till it has reached such a pitch that the greater number of the citizens of the United States believe they can ignore the rest of humanity and live their own lives, disdainfully, heedless of international happenings. These ideas have not been quite so bluntly expressed in international communications, but it is true that in the press and in political speeches they have been put even more crudely still. God has divided the world into two parts, the United States and the rest of the world, making special concessions to the former and designating the latter to bear all unpleasant consequences of Divine Wrath. This sentiment has been cherished with a religious fervor by a great number of North Americans, and still exists."

The La Prensa at present is carrying on a regular campaign against the United States because of the Nicaragua situation. Every few days a long editorial is issued.

Other factions no doubt contribute to this Anti-American propaganda. The Communist influence is practically nil. The Latin countries of Europe will, of course, always be present in that field. However, the greatest damage now is being done by United States despatches.

The Political and Economic effect of all this in time is certain to be reflected in the official relations between the

CONFIDENTIAL

3056.

(a) Status of relations with foreign countries.

Argentina and the United States of America:

two countries, though it may not be very apparent at present.

Sources:

Newspapers.

Dan Carey - International News Service.

Tracy Lay - United States Consul General.

CONFIDENTIAL

3850.

(b) Attitude towards Pan Americanism.

Traditional:

Ideas of Pan Americanism were first expressed in Argentina in 1810 by Bernadino Rivadavia in a discourse in which he spoke of the Union and harmony which should prevail among citizens of the same origin, dependence and interests. This was about the time of Joel R. Poinsette-sent to South America by the United States' President. In 1824 an effort was made to form a Confederation of States in South America. In 1818 San Martin suggested a union between Argentina, Chile and Peru. In 1819 Brazil sent instructions to her agent in Buenos Aires to try to interest Argentina in consolidation for mutual defense. Later Bolivar convened in Panama representatives from most of the South American countries. Argentina refused to send delegates because she was suspicious of Bolivar; believing he had designs for world power. Bolivar's first invitation did not include the United States but later they were invited by Colombia. Likewise it is noted that Argentina was absent from the "American Congress" held in Lima in December of 1847. The next event which caused the South American countries to attempt to consolidate was the North American Filibuster Walker into Central America. Peru again took the lead and approached Argentina in 1862. Minister Elisandre expressed Argentina's viewpoint as follows: "Independent America is a political entity that does not exist nor is it possible to constitute it by diplomatic fulmination. America contains independent nations with their own institutions and manner of Government and cannot form one political entity." Argentina had assumed by now a role of desiring closer union with Europe, looking to it for money and immigrants to develop its country. Alberdi a leading Argentine of that time expressed an idea that from Europe rather than from the United States, Argentina could expect the greatest help.

The Second American Congress met in Lima in March 1865. Records show that Sarmiento, leader of the democracy in Argentina, was present but did not sign the agreement entered into by the other South American republics. About 1875 the idea of a political union was abandoned and Pan America resolved itself into attempting simply closer relations and agreements on International Policies and economic intercourse. In 1880 Columbia invited the South American republics to a conference at Panama to approve and concur in certain arbitration treaties she had made with Chile. Argentina was again absent. In 1883 Argentina did join in an arbitration treaty in Caracas with six other Latin American countries. In 1888 Argentina joined in a Sanitary Congress in Rio and the next year issued invitations for a Congress on International Law to be held in Montevideo. In spite of Argentina's more or less official holding back in advancing this American solidarity many of her statesmen in the past worked for it.

Juan Bautista Alberdi in 1850 presented a thesis to the University of Santiago Chile as a requirement for Dr. of Law. He outlined the subjects that ought to be discussed by a Pan American Congress as follows:-

1. First, adjustment of boundaries between the American states.
2. The regulation of maritime and river traffic.
3. Protection of commerce.
4. Unifying customs duties.
5. Uniformity in currency, weights and measures.

3850.

(b) Attitude towards Pan Americanism

6. Uniformity in banking arrangements.
7. Foundation of a bank for public credit for the continent.
8. Validation of incorporation.
9. Validation of scientific and professional diplomas.
10. Copyrights.
11. Construction of international railroads.
12. Postal unions.
13. Extradition of criminals.
14. Limitation of armies.
15. Establishment of an international court of peace.
16. Determination of American international law.
17. Prevention and control of war.
18. Development of colonization.
19. Construction of a Trans-Andean railroad."

Beginning with the Mexican war Argentina began to view the United States with suspicion. This was increased by expressions by American speakers as "America for the Americans" (twisted by them to North Americans); "Manifest Destiny of our Nation", and Walker's expedition to Central America; diplomatic intervention of the United States in Chile, Peru and Bolivia.

The First Pan American Congress in 1889 was held in Washington, and Argentina participated and became a member of the Union. No definite problem came before the Congress but it was simply a bringing together of the countries for better mutual understanding. It resulted in the foundation of the Pan American Union with an annual budget of \$36,000 U.S. for collection and publication of data on commerce.

At the Second Pan American Congress, October 1901, Argentina quite distinguished herself by a document reviewing the history of her arbitration treaties. And together with ten delegates signed a proposal for compulsory arbitration.

At the Third Pan American Conference, 1906, Argentina was present, as well as at the Fourth Conference, in Buenos Aires in 1910. In the latter an effort was made by Brazil to adopt a resolution of thanks to the United States for the Monroe Doctrine. It was objected to by Chile and two members of the Argentine Delegation, so the matter was dropped.

Recent and Current Trend:

In 1923 Argentina was present at Santiago Chile and took a prominent part in limitation of Arms discussion. Argentina argued for a status quo so as not to make additional expenditures for munitions. Brazil argued that she must necessarily protect her long coast line. The result of the discussion was nothing more than an increase of bad feeling between Brazil and Argentina.

The attitude of the United States in disapproving a close association of American States was criticised here though Argentina's position is similar to that of the United States in that respect. Dr. Estanislao Zeballos, a former Minister of Foreign Affairs, explained Argentine feeling at the Institute of Politics at Williamstown in 1925, as follows:-

CONFIDENTIAL

3090.

(b) Attitude towards Pan Americanism.

"What occurred in Santiago and the inexact, the incomplete, exaggeratedly optimistic report made to the Government of the United States demands a rectification in the interest of Pan Americanism which today is facing a profound crisis The Conference has perturbed the tranquillity of the situation in general and especially among certain groups like the Rio de la Plata group Do the good people of the United States know these things, which so profoundly affect their interests? The United States has a great mission in favor of Pan American Friendship, but they must reorganize their work on another basis, taking into account the discontent which exists in the greater part of the Latin American countries. The lack of diplomacy, of exact information and of coordination among the various officials of the United States Government, in regard to Pan Americanism, is blocking its development."

As stated in another chapter the recent economic controversy has affected Pan Americanism, so far as Argentina is concerned. The press attacked Pan Americanism again when Cuba shut out grapes on the ground "The product is infected with the Mediterranean fly - according to an announcement made by the United States Department of Agriculture." The speeches of Dr. Dahua, Rural Society Delegate to Pan American Commercial Congress, received the praise and approval of Argentine and Latin controlled press. The Buenos Aires Herald (British) however, in an able Editorial took issue with him on his ideas of Customs Duties and his criticising any foreign country's policy in view of Argentina's Customs regulations.

The press's main accusation however, against the United States and Pan Americanism is political rather than economic. Every few days the Prensa has an editorial - "Crisis of Pan Americanism", "The American International Family", (attacking Pan Americanism because of intervention in Nicaragua), "Mr. Coolidge's Speech before the United Press", etc. Quoting La Prensa: "These sentiments (Alleging United States imperialism) are deeply rooted in the Argentine populace and since neither the Government nor the Judicial Institutions give them voice, it falls to the National press to remedy so grave an omission. Pan Americanism is at a crisis and the crisis will become even more formidable if the States persist in their armed interference in Nicaragua." (Prensa March 31st.) From my observations and contacts, I believe there is a deep rooted feeling among all persons here of Latin origin, against Pan Americanism, on political grounds, and among Anglo Argentine on economic. I have selected La Prensa to quote, as I class it more or less along the middle of the scale of newspapers. It claims the largest circulation, is read by the upper middle class and is not so rabid in its denunciation of the United States as are some of the smaller papers. La Nacion, which also claims as large a circulation as the Prensa, probably appeals to the higher classes, and its editorials are a bit more reserved. The above feeling is expressed however, more or less by all the Latin owned press, and is taken up by the British papers when do-

CONFIDENTIAL

1940.

(b) Attitude towards Americanism:

ing so might profit the British. The people of Argentina are great news or readers, and naturally are influenced by them, and vice versa the news are are influenced in their news by what they think the people wish to read.

3850.

(c) National Decision to Adopt the Monroe Doctrine.

The substance of the Monroe Doctrine as announced by President Monroe in his message to Congress on December 2nd 1823, is as follows:

That there shall be no further colonization in America by European powers; that there shall be no extension of monarchical form of Government to republican American Countries; and that the United States should defend all American Countries against any European aggression.

This message was received in Buenos Aires on February 8th, 1824. The American Minister in Buenos Aires wrote a few days later to President Monroe that the message would have a happy effect throughout Spanish provinces. Three months later the same Minister wrote to the Secretary of State, Adams, that the President's message had produced a very good effect but that he looked more to the permanent benefits to be derived than to the temporary effect. In December, 1824, the President of the Argentine Confederation in his message to the National Congress said, with reference to President Monroe's message:

".....It (U.S.) has at the same time made an appeal to our national honor by supposing us capable of contending single-handed with Spain; but it has constituted itself the guardian of the field of battle in order to prevent any foreign assistance from being introduced to the aid of our rival."

The Governor of Buenos Aires Province in receiving the United States Minister, Forbes, alluded to the Monroe Doctrine and spoke of the good result there from. This friendly feeling towards, and reception of the Monroe Doctrine continued till about the time of the Mexican War. That War, the Walker expedition to Central America, and even more than those was the fact that Argentina had begun to develop industrially and recognize her potential strength. She then began and does now resent more than anything else the big brother or tutelage attitude of the United States towards Latin America.

As the years passed and the foreign relations became more involved, two more principals became known as essentials of the Monroe Doctrine: That European countries could not acquire any territory in America even with consent of the Nation involved or by adjustment of boundaries; and that non American countries could not occupy any portion of the American republics for collection of debts where acquisition of territory was involved. The United States in 1861 agreed to European countries collecting debts in Mexico until they started to set up an Empire. Then the Venezuelan case wherein Germany asked permission to collect debts from that country provided the Monroe Doctrine was not violated. The United States then offered to act as collection agent. As a direct result of this case and the policy announced for the United States by President Roosevelt resulted in the Drago Doctrine. Luis M. Drago was at that time Foreign Minister of Argentina and he made a vigorous protest that nations did not have any right to intervene for the collection of debts and among other things stated that "collection of loans by military means implies territorial occupation to make them effective and territorial occupation signifies the suppression or subordina-

(3) 2920.

3850. (c)

tion of the Governments of the countries in which it is imposed." A little later the Argentine Statesman Calvo went a little further and announced a principle that came to be known as the Calvo Doctrine. It claims that Governments are not responsible for losses for life and property suffered by foreigners during internal disturbances; and to demand and enforce indemnity would necessarily deprive nations of the essentials of their independence - territorial jurisdiction.

The interpretation and application of the Monroe Doctrine by President Roosevelt has caused more reaction against the principle than any other statesman previous to the present administration. Remarks in a speech made by him in 1904 caused wide outbursts here in Argentina: "Chronic wrong doing or an impotence which results in a general loosening of ties of civilized society may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and, in the western hemisphere, the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrong doing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power." The Secretary of State Root in his speech in Rio de Janeiro in 1906 poured much oil on the troubled waters and still later Mr. Wilson endeared himself to the people of this country by policies he announced - only later to be condemned for the acts he committed. All of our relations with Cuba, Panama, Haiti, San Domingo, and Central America, have been interpreted by the people of this country and the press as in accordance with the Monroe Doctrine and against the Drago and Calvo teachings. In December of 1923 on the hundred anniversary of the Monroe Doctrine, there was considerable discussion on the subject in the United States and South America. Mr. Hughes made a statement that the United States would look with disfavor upon one Latin American nation attacking another. This brought a general protest from practically all Buenos Aires. Mr. Hughes in Minneapolis during the same year, before the bar association impressed the point that the Monroe Doctrine was distinctly a policy of the United States and "the Government of the United States reserves to itself its definition, interpretation and application." This has always been a thorn in the side of Latin America.

As noted under (b) at the fourth Pan American Conference, Brazil endeavored to secure a unanimous resolution by the conference expressing to the United States its appreciation of the Monroe Doctrine. Upon objection by some of the delegates including the Argentines, as to the wording, the matter was dropped.

Recent and Current; Significant Aspects.

The Mexican and Nicaraguan relations have caused a considerable amount of criticism of the United States in the local press. Just how widespread is the feeling is hard to gauge. In January of 1927 a meeting was called by the "Liga Pro Union Americana" to protest against the intervention of the United States in Nicaragua. Some two thousand people attended, it was however a very unenthusiastic gathering. No doubt some communists were mixed with the crowd as the true purpose of the meeting was entirely changed by an anarchist who had chained himself in a tree

3820. (c)

-19-

1930. (c)

(as the police could not pull him out) and began a harangue on Lacco and Vancetto. In February of this year an attempt was made to hold a similar meeting, when only six or seven hundred attended. La Prensa is now conducting an editorial campaign on this subject. As is the practice of that paper in such cases, about every third day, they issue an editorial on the subject. Many of them are very rabid. Speaking of Mr. Coolidge's speech before the press in New York the following comment was made "... does not contain a single piece of good news nor a healthy principle, nor an illustration of democracy, equality or justice" (May 1st, 1927). On April 5th, a long editorial on the subject "Two Edged Sword" appeared the first paragraph is: "In all the histories of international treaties, we may safely say that possibly none have proved so elastic as the interpretation given by the United States to the Central American Treaties of Washington. These are twisted and molded to suit each new phase of United States politics, until those people who scarcely understand, and show little interest in such matters, are surprised at the convenient and unexpected manner in which these revered documents are interpreted." There is no question that La Prensa is the paper that most of the upper middle class Argentines read and there is no question but that it has great weight with officials of the Government, (as well as with the people) and that this apparent campaign against the United States will have considerable effect in time.

3650.

(a) Attitude towards The League of Nations.

Questions on membership:

The head of the Argentine delegates to the formation of the League of Nations in 1919 was Dr. Honorio Pueyrredon, now Ambassador to the United States. He was at the time Minister of Foreign Affairs in President Irigoyen's Cabinet.

The delegates were given definite instructions that the following provisions must be taken cognizance of by the League, as a prelude to Argentina joining:

1. The Universality of the League
2. The equality of the nations
3. Effective and identical responsibility for all states adhering to the League
4. The functions of the League not to be retro-active.

On assembling of the League it was decided that the above points would be considered as "annexes", so President Irigoyen issued instructions for the Argentine delegates to withdraw. From then, till the end of the Irigoyen administration, October 1922, Argentina had nothing to do with the League.

President Alvear was one of the delegates in Dr. Pueyrredon's party. As soon as he became president and for the last five years he has tried to secure from the National Congress an expression of their will as to joining the League. Personally he and Dr. Gallardo, Foreign Minister, are very strongly in favor of Argentina joining the League, and it is rumored that they will succeed in September of this year. Such success is contingent upon approval by Congress.

At present their status is similar to the United States. They have observers present and they have taken part in recent disarmament discussions.

CONFIDENTIAL

Page.

(c) Pan Latinism

Attitude of Government and Public towards subject:

The Argentine Government is neutral so far as any official attitude is concerned. Personally no doubt, each member is pro-Latin in their feelings. The President is especially partial to the French. He was Ambassador there, and should his party win in the next election, he will probably return to France as Minister.

There are various societies of Latin American Countries in Buenos Aires, but none have any official connections.

Dr. Alfredo Palacios and Manuel Ugarte have been leaders in fostering Pan Latinism. The former is a professor of History here and generally presides at all Latin American meetings. His preachings as described in his own words are:

"My attitude is frankly one of opposition toward the Pan American movement; because I know that a union of that sort the weak and separated peoples of South America must become the satellites and servants ... The only salvation for these democracies of the South lies in the recognition by them of their mutual identity of race and their inevitable unity in destiny, thus bringing about a confederation of all of them to constitute a great power, like the Republic of the North, with which it might deal thus, in analogous conditions..."

Palacios has no standing with the Government who consider him a pretty poor sort. So far as can be ascertained he has no connection with Soviets nor is he on the pay roll of any particular propaganda interests. Manuel Ugarte, the author of "El Porvenir de la America Latina" has consistently advocated Pan Latinism as against Pan Americanism and the Monroe Doctrine. He hates the United States to such an extent that he has even preached Pan Japonism. He is now living in Nice.

Actual Support being gained:

I do not believe any such movement is gaining any support. New attempts are made from time to time but no one of any standing in this country is connected with them, and it is predicted that nothing will ever come of it. Economically it is not sound and it lacks leadership. Pan Americanism, they tried for fifty or sixty years and accomplished nothing till the United States took charge of it. I do not mean that we should ignore it even though it is of small influence. Small though it may be it is certainly Anti-United States to the core.

On May 9th appeared in the press an article on the organization of a "Liga Latina Americana", among the principles announced are:

1. "Let us organize an alliance of our republics that shall make us in reality what we have in truth been since the dawn of our independence; one great people, a brotherhood of twenty young States."

CONFIDENTIAL

389c.

(a) Pan Latinism

2. Not to participate in any other associations or alliances with imperial aims.

The conclusion of no treaties that would establish the Pan American Union on a permanent basis, and retirement of all financial support of the same, with a view to its dissolution.

3. Independence of Porto Rico; complete sovereignty and intact territory for Cuba, Haiti and Santo Domingo; suppression of the Platt amendment to the Cuban constitution; and repeal of all treaties, such as that of Haiti and the United States of September 16, 1915, which jeopardize a portion of the territory of, or establish financial control in, or limit in any way the independence of the republics of the Antilles. Complete abrogation of the treaty of July 23, 1926 between Panama and the United States, and of any other agreement that permits or aggravates the present situation of the isthmus republic. Revision of the old treaties on the basis of the complete sovereignty of Panama, and occupation by the United States of the Canal Zone only.

4. No transfer of European possessions in the New World to the United States without due consideration of the opinion and national interests of our peoples. Unconditional return of the Malvinas (Falkland Islands) to the Argentine.

5. Political organization of South America on the basis of mutual understanding and strict cooperation between Argentina, Brazil and Chile, with a view to the realization of alliance among themselves, and the surrounding nations. Similar cooperation between Mexico, Central America and the Antilles. Finally the establishment of a 'League of the Latin American Nations'

6. The agreement for the foundation of the new entity was signed by the following delegates:-

For Central America: G. Herrera Arrivillaga, Angel Muñoz Aguilar, Jesús García Caires; For Peru: Moisés Díaz; For Uruguay: J. A. Collazo, J. Oscar Cesco Montaldo, y Silvestre Perez; For Argentina: Arturo Grzabal Quintana, Eusebio Rosquera Kelly, Carlos A. Lazcano, Conrado R. Kierman, José María Ruiz, Federico P. Monjardín, Homero M. Guglielmini, José Luis Carruti, Fortunato Liza (Hijo), Manuel Juan Cruz, Ricardo Parodi, Romulo C. Vinvigurtta, Angel Vasallo, Fernando L. Olicera, Simón Aramburu, Hector C. Morize, Ambrosio Nerviani, Eligio Rinaldi, Rodolfo I. Furdera, Angel Talice, Atilio O. Lioy, Rafael Gonzalez, José R. Luna, Alfredo Vercelli, Atanasio Celorrio, Eugenio D. Martinez y René Rossi Montero.

The founders offered the presidency of the Alliance to Dr. Manuel Ugarte, now at Nice. Dr. Ugarte accepted the offer."

From Lima, Peru, dispatch it is reported that Soto Hall with approval of Señor Paz, Proprietor of La Prensa, is the guiding hand in this movement. Soto Hall is a Guatemalan and has journeyed through Central and South America; I am informed in the interest of Pan Latinism. While the Prensa on May 10th,

3820.
-23-
3820.

(c) Pan Latinism.

printed an Editorial explaining the idea of the League and how to be accomplished, it was very mild for the press on a subject which concerns the United States. I do not believe that Señor Paz is behind the League. If so, some prominent Argentines would be among its sponsors.

Only two of the Argentine signers have ever been heard of by the Embassy. Quintana on which a report has been made. It is believed that he is still on the pay roll of Soviets; and one other man who is a professor in a college here, but of no importance.

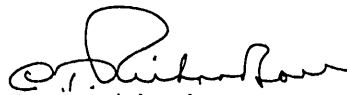
The Chargé d'Affairs informs me that upon inquiry the Foreign Office stated this League has no official standing or support.

Sources:

Newspapers
Future of Latin America - Urgarte
Problems in Pan Americanism, Inman
Chargé d'Affairs.

Report No. 3796

Buenos Aires May 18th, 1927.


C. T. Richardson,
Major U.S. M.A.

ARGENTINA-----LITICAL

Subject: Foreign Relations:

(a) Status of Relations with Foreign Countries.

Argentina and Spain:

The foreign relations of Argentina are governed principally by two things, racial ties and economic interests. With Spain the latter is of little importance, however, due to the former the relations of these two countries are very close. For example the participation in the exhibition now being prepared in Seville is perhaps the most elaborate and expensive that Argentina has ever made. The reasons for the very friendly feeling are clear, Spain is the mother country, the language being common to both nations, their literature is also common, and since Spain has the larger literary production its effect is tremendous in influencing public opinion.

From M.A. Argentina.

Report No. 3796 May 18, 1927.

G-2 Report

389

ARGENTINA-----POLITICAL

Subject: Foreign Relations:

(a) Status of Relations with Foreign Countries. (Contd.)

Argentine Relations with Italy and France:

Italy's case is very much the same as that of Spain. The two million Italians in this country, with an equal number of people of the same descent, make the racial ties very strong. The Italians through their "Istituto de Cultura Italiana" have brought to this country prominent lecturers, many of whom are men of letters, of science, and former Prime Ministers.

France has a similar institution known as the "Alliance Francaise" which has endeavored to produce the same results, and in the past has brought out such men as Anatole de France, Clemenceau, Briand, etc. The French population is rather small but quite energetic. In the subways, etc., may be seen such posters as - "It is a patriotic duty to contribute to the development of Franco-American trade."

G-2 Report

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3850

ARGENTINA-----POLITICAL

Subject: Foreign Relations:

(a) Status of Relations with Foreign Countries. (Ctd.)

Argentina and England:

The leading factor in the economic influence of Argentine foreign policy, is England. For many years England has invested capital in large quantities in railroads and in the animal industry. Some of these industries in times passed rendered very little return on the funds invested. This fact has been impressed very strongly on the Argentine mind, and through clever propaganda England has brought herself in the happy position to have the Argentines believe that all her investments are for the benefit of Argentina, in contributing to the development of the nation.

A question that has been pending between Argentina and England for some time, and to which this country has devoted a lot of thought and literature, is the English possession of the Islas Malvinas (The Falkland Islands). These were taken by England in 1833 and have been retained ever since. At intervals since that time the Argentine Government has filed a protest, and it was only recently that it was proposed by Argentina that the problem should be solved by Arbitration. So far England has not answered the proposal.

From I.A. Argentina.

Report No.3796.

May 18,1927

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CONFIDENTIAL

C-2 Report

3850

ARGENTINA-----POLITICAL

Subject: Foreign Relations:

(a) Status of Relations with Foreign Countries (Ctd.)

Argentina and Paraguay:

During the years 1865 to 1870 Argentina joined Brazil and Uruguay in a war against Paraguay, which destroyed so many of the male population that the country has not recovered to this date. The present attitude of Argentina towards Paraguay is more or less a feeling of regret for that war. This is shown by Argentina not insisting on the payment of the war debts, and at times has considered their abolition. Argentina also makes certain concessions to Paraguay in the use of rivers for commerce.

Up to 1878 there was much controversy between Argentina and Paraguay over the possession of the region called Chaco Paraguayo, the region comprised by the islands of Apipe and Yacinrete on the River Parana and that of Cerrito on the junction of the Parana and Paraguay. These disputes were settled in that year by arbitration through the United States. Argentina retained the islands of Cerrito and Apipe, and the rest of the contested territory was given to Paraguay.

CONFIDENTIAL

G-2 Report

3850

ARGENTINA-----POLITICAL

Subject: Foreign Relations:

(a) Status of Relations with Foreign Countries. (Ctd.)

Argentina and Uruguay:-

The feeling of Argentina for Uruguay is very friendly, although there is now pending a problem of importance for Argentina - The division of the La Plata river between the two countries. Argentina claims that the boundaries should be the lines of the deepest channel. Against this claim is the proposal of the Uruguayans to make the waters international at a distance beyond thirty five miles from the coast. Such a solution would take away from Argentina the island of Martin Garcia which dominates the entrance to the rivers Uruguay and Parana. These two rivers are the main arteries of the La Plata river, and the water ways leading to the Eastern Argentine provinces. In 1916 a treaty between Uruguay and Argentina settled the question of the possession of the islands in the river Uruguay, this boundary was determined along Argentine proposals, that is the line of the deepest channel. It is very possible that this will be the solution of the La Plata river problem.

From M.A. Argentina.

Report No. 3796.

May 18, 1947.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

G-2 Report

3850

ARGENTINA-----POLITICAL

Subject: Foreign Relations:

(a) Status of Relations with Foreign Countries. (Ctd.)

Argentina and Brazil:-

There is, and there has existed for many years, a feeling of rivalry between these two countries. This feeling has been express in various manners at international gatherings and in the press of both countries.

In 1890 there were several boundary disputes in the North which in 1895 were settled by President Cleveland, in which Argentina lost 25,000 kilometers of the territory she claimed.

The bad feeling between Argentina and Brazil further was increased in 1923 as a result of the Pan American Conference. During the discussion of limitation of arms, Argentina desired a general discussion with all the South American Republics. Brazil argues against the limitation of arms, on account of the long coast line to guard and defend. Later when Brazil asked for a United States Naval mission, there was a general out-burst of condemnation against her, and Argentina in 1924 made considerable appropriations to increase Army and Navy.

At present there are no questions pending between the two countries, but it is evident that there is considerable jealousy and probably envy, because of an idea that Argentina has that Brazil is inclined to lean towards and follow the United States on questions of an international nature.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

G-2 Report

3050

ARGENTINA-----POLITICAL

Subject: Foreign Relations:

(a) Status of Relations with Foreign Countries. (Ctd.)

Argentina and Chile:-

There was formerly much more jealousy and rivalry between Chile and Argentina than at present, Argentina now feels that she has advanced financially and economically so far ahead of Chile that she no longer thinks of her as a rival in the political or economic world.

There were two very serious questions between the two countries back in 1900 with reference to the boundaries in the Andes territory and further South in Patagonia. The first was settled by Mr. Buchanan, under which Argentina received three quarters of the disputed territory; and the second by King Edward in 1902, in which Argentina received less than half of the land she demanded.

At the present time there is a question of minor importance pending between the two countries as to the possession of two islands near the entrance of the Beagle Canal. This matter has been referred to Great Britain but no decision has yet been made.

During the Taena and Arica discussion, Argentina remained absolutely neutral, and the press seemed to approve the action taken by the United States. In spite of the neutral position it is believed that Argentina feels more friendly to Peru than to Chile.

G-S Report

3850

ARGENTINA-----POLITICAL

Subject: Foreign Relations:

(a) Status of Relations with Foreign Countries. (Ctd.)

Argentina and Perú:

Traditionally the attitude of Argentina towards Peru has been most friendly, and some writers attribute it to a considerable extent, to the fact that the Peruvian territories were lost to Chile, at a time when Chile was passing through a period of expansion which threatened to bring her in conflict with Argentina, or challenge the possessions of the latter in South America.

One evidence of the friendship of Argentina for the Peruvians in the past in that many prominent Argentines, including a former President, Roque Saenz Peña, served in the Peruvian army during some of their early wars. There are assertions at the present time that this traditional friendship is somewhat dying out. If correct this might be explained as due to some extent to the dictatorial government of President Augusto Leguia, and to a feeling by Argentina that Peru responds too easily to the policies of the United States.

From H.A. Argentina.

Report No.3796.

May 18, 1927.

U-3 18000-4
G-1 Report

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
3850

ARGENTINA-----POLITICAL

Subject: Foreign Relations:

(a) Status of Relations with Foreign Countries. (Ctd.)

Argentina and Bolivia:

See Report No.3600, Index Number 3850 stated as covering requirements in Evaluation Report of recent date.

From M.A.Argentina.

Report No.3796. May 18,1927.

3-2 Report

3050

ARGENTINA-----POLITICAL

Subject: Foreign Relations:

(a) Status of Relations with Foreign Countries. (Ctd.)

Argentina and the United States of America.

The relations between these two countries as explained under (b), (c) and (e) of this chapter cover all phases of political relations except one which is at present very strong and the ammunition for most of which comes from the United States, Propaganda.

The British are very active now in trying to reestablish their trade with the Argentine. The British Minister has been absent from his post the past six months, and has been making speeches in all parts of England, trying to awaken the British trade. His policy has been open and above board, and in attempting to make his countrymen grasp the situation he has necessarily boosted the American business by his comparisons. The British papers, however, take advantage of every move in the political and economic relations to help the British. Some of their editorials, as the one in the Herald of April 1st. are quite harsh against us. I will quote one part:

"We have definitely asserted that the U.S. officials were strong in trying to protect the interests of their farmers by pretending that germs could be carried in frozen meat. They adopted this excuse for closure instead of asking Congress to raise the tariff wall still further, a proposition which would undoubtedly have created some public opposition. The agitation in Argentina was based on sound reason and, in the end, the U.S. Government decided diplomatically to settle the matter by requesting full inspection in Argentina, an inspection, however, which has never been lacking. It was a graceful withdrawal from an untenable position and one would have thought that the Argentine Fourth Estate would have been pleased at its victory and have consequently reduced the volume and bitterness of its criticism. Unfortunately, we have noticed no such diminution."

The owner of the Herald also owns the Argentine Times and it is anti-United States whenever it profits the British. Other British papers - The Standard and the Review of the River Plate are equal guardians of British interest but more dignified in their utterances.

The worst feature however, is the despatches that come from the States through the news services. The United Press serves among other papers La Prensa which never misses

From M.A.Argentina.

Report No.3796.

May 18,1927.

0-2 Report

3050

ARGENTINA-----POLITICAL

Subject: Foreign Relations:

(a) Status of Relations with Foreign Countries. (Ctd.)

Argentina and the United States of America. (Ctd.)

any anti- U.S. news. The United Press agent here is named Miller (of German extraction) and works hand and glove with the La Prensa. The Associated Press serves the Nacion. I am informed that this organization has contracts with foreign government owned or foreign government controlled news agencies for exchange of news. The result is that only censured European news reaches here through that source, while the United States news services send anything they wish from the States. Then there is the International News which sells Hearst News here. It is the weaker of the three but I feel that it tries to suppress all anti-United States news possible. That I know is the policy of the agent here, and he is trying to impress upon his home office the Argentine situation.

All acts of the United States which they can class as blunders are magnified and promptly published by the news services here. Mr. Jardine's action on the meat and the grapes; Mr. Hoover's speech that no more money would be loaned countries to buy munitions, while across the street Mr. Kellogg says that he knows nothing of such a policy; a report from Costa Rica that their Legislature had passed a resolution of protest against Nicaragua situation which all other Latin American countries would be requested to approve, and then it would be sent to Mr. Borah; Mr. Kellogg is reported as having sent Mr. Stimson to Nicaragua with certain instructions and he immediately does things contrary to them; and the discussions of different politicians and especially Mr. Borah and Mr. Wheeler. The latter is credited with the following: "President Coolidge and Mr. Kellogg are warring against Nicaragua in the interest of Wall Street, the Bankers and the big men thereof."

Then there is a writer in New York by the name of J.W.T. Mason. He is reported to be an Englishman and I have been unable to ascertain whether or not he is naturalized. Very frequently he sends down articles marked "Special for La Prensa". Yesterday there was published a full column and a half on the subject: U.S. Diplomacy in Spanish-America". Among other things he said:

"It is natural therefore that a nation should feel satisfied at the conquest of its liberty and especially if prosperity grows in the following generations. Many other countries have experienced this same sensation. But until this day, in all history the United States is the only one who geographically, has been insured against invasions, and economically, has been

From M.A.Argentina.

Report No.3796.

May 18,1927.

G-5 Report

309

ARGENTINA-----POLITICAL

Subject: Foreign Relations:

(a) Status of Relations with Foreign Countries. (Ctd.)

Argentina and the United States of America. (Ctd.)

independent of the rest of the world. These factors have tended to augment the complacency of the nation till it has reached such a pitch that the greater number of the citizens of the United States believe they can ignore the rest of humanity and live their own lives, disdainfully, heedless of international happenings. These ideas have not been quite so bluntly expressed in international communications, but it is true that in the press and in political speeches they have been put even more crudely still. God has divided the world into two parts, the United States and the rest of the world, making special concessions to the former and designating the latter to bear all unpleasant consequence of Divine Wrath. This sentiment has been cherished with a religious fervour by a great number of North Americans, and still exists."

The La Prensa at present is carrying on a regular campaign against the United States because of the Nicaragua situation. Every few days a long editorial is issued.

Other factions no doubt contribute to this Anti-American propaganda. The Communist influence is practically nil. The Latin countries of Europe will, of course, always be present in that field. However, the greatest damage now is being done by United States despatches.

The Political and Economic effect of all this in time is certain to be reflected in the official relations between the two countries, though it may not be very apparent at present.

Sources:

Newspapers.

Don Carey - International News Service.

Tracy Lay - United States Consul General.

From B.A. Argentina.

Report No. 3796. May 18, 1927.

6-5 28004

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3-2 Report

3850

ARGENTINA-----POLITICAL

Subject: Foreign Relations:

(b) Attitude towards Pan Americanism.

Traditional:

Ideas of Pan Americanism were first expressed in Argentina in 1810 by Bernardino Rivadavia in a discourse in which he spoke of the Union and harmony which should prevail among citizens of the same origin, dependence and interests. This was about the time of Joel R. Poinsette sent to South America by the United States' President. In 1824 an effort was made to form a Confederation of States in South America. In 1818 San Martin suggested a union between Argentina, Chile and Peru. In 1819 Brazil sent instructions to her agent in Buenos Aires to try to interest Argentina in consolidation for mutual defense. Later Bolivar convened in Panama representatives from most of the South American countries. Argentina refused to send delegates because she was suspicious of Bolivar; believing he had designs for world power. Bolivar's first invitation did not include the United States but later they were invited by Colombia. Likewise it is noted that Argentina was absent from the "American Congress" held in Lima in December of 1847. The next event which caused the South American countries to attempt to consolidate was the North American Filibuster Walker into Central America. Peru again took the lead and approached Argentina in 1862. Minister Elisando express Argentina's viewpoint as follows: "Independent America is a political entity that does not exist nor is it possible to constitute it by diplomatic fulmination. America contains independent nations with their own institutions and manner of Government and cannot form one political entity." Argentina had assumed by now a role of desiring closer union with Europe, looking to it for money and immigrants to develop its country. Alberdi a leading Argentine of that time expressed an idea that from Europe rather than from the United States Argentina could expect the greatest help.

The Second American Congress met in Lima in March 1865. Records show that Sarmiento, leader of the democracy in Argentina, was present but did not sign the agreement entered into by the other South American republics. About 1875 the idea of a political union was abandoned and Pan America resolved itself into attempting simply closer relations and agreements on International Policies and economic intercourse. In 1880 Columbia invited the South American republics to a conference at Panama to approve and concur in certain arbitration treaties she had made with Chile. Argentina was again absent. In 1883 Argentina did join in an arbitration treaty in Caracas with six other Latin American countries. In 1888 Argentina joined in a Sanitary Congress in Rio and the next year issued invitations for a Congress on International Law to be held in Montevideo. In spite of Argentina's more or less official holding back in advancing this American solidarity many of her statesmen in the past worked for it.

From M.A.Argentina.

Report No.3796.

May 18,1927.

ARGENTINA-----POLITICAL

Subject: Foreign Relations:

(b) Attitude towards Pan Americanism. (Ctd.)Traditional: (Ctd.)

Juan Bautista Alberdi in 1850 presented a thesis to the University of Santiago Chile as a requirement for Dr. of Law. He outlined the subjects that ought to be discussed by a Pan American Congress as follows:-

- "1. First, adjustment of boundaries between the American states.
2. The regulation of maritime and river traffic.
3. Protection of commerce.
4. Unifying customs duties.
5. Uniformity in currency, weights and measures.
6. Uniformity in banking arrangements.
7. Foundation of a bank for public credit for the continent.
8. Validation of incorporation.
9. Validation of scientific and professional diplomas.
10. Copyrights.
11. Construction of international railroads.
12. Postal unions.
13. Extradition of criminals.
14. Limitation of armies.
15. Establishment of an international court of peace.
16. Determination of American International law.
17. Prevention and control of war.
18. Development of colonization.
19. Construction of a Trans-Andean railroad."

Beginning with the Mexican war Argentina began to view the United States with suspicion. This was increased by expressions by American speakers as "America for the Americans" (twisted by them to North Americans); "Manifest Destiny of our Nation", and Walker's expedition to Central America; diplomatic intervention of the United States in Chile, Peru and Bolivia.

The First Pan American Congress in 1889 was held in Washington, and Argentina participated and became a member of the Union. No definite problem came before the Congress but it was simply a bringing together of the countries for better mutual understanding. It resulted in the foundation of the Pan American Union with an annual budget of \$36,000 U.S. for collection and publication of data on commerce.

At the Second Pan American Congress, October 1901, Argentina quite distinguished herself by a document reviewing

6-5 36-4042

6-2 Report

3050

CONFIDENTIAL

ARGENTINA-----POLITICAL

Subject: Foreign Relations:

(b) Attitude towards Pan Americanism. (Ctd.)

Traditional: (Ctd.)

the history of her arbitration treaties. And together with ten delegates signed a proposal for compulsory arbitration.

At the Third Pan American Conference, 1906, Argentina was present, as well as at the Fourth Conference, in Buenos Aires in 1910. In the latter an effort was made by Brazil to adopt a resolution of thanks to the United States for the Monroe Doctrine. It was objected to by Chile and two members of the Argentine Delegation, so the matter was dropped.

Recent and Current Trend:

In 1923 Argentina was present at Santiago Chile and took a prominent part in limitation of Arms discussion. Argentina argues for a status quo so as not to make additional expenditures for munitions. Brazil argues that she must necessarily protect her long coast line. The result of the discussion was nothing more than an increase of bad feeling between Brazil and Argentina.

The attitude of the United States in disapproving a close association of American States was criticised here though Argentina's position is similar to that of the United States in that respect. Dr. Estanislao Zeballos, a former Minister of Foreign Affairs, explained Argentine feeling at the Institute of Politics at Williamstown in 1925, as follows:-

"What occurred in Santiago and the inexact, the incomplete, exaggeratedly optimistic report made to the Government of the United States demands a rectification in the interest of Pan Americanism which today is facing a profound crisis.... The Conference has perturbed the tranquility of the situation in general and especially among certain groups like the Rio de la Plata group Do the good people of the United States know these things, which so profoundly affect their interests? The United States has a great mission in favor of Pan American friendship, but they must reorganize their work on another basis, taking into account the discontent which exists in the greater part of the Latin American countries. The lack of diplomacy, of exact information and of coordination among the various officials of the United States Government, in regard to Pan Americanism, is blocking its development."

As stated in another chapter the recent economic con-

From H.A. Argentina.

Report No.3796. May 18,1927

G-2 Report

3550

ARGENTINA-----POLITICAL

Subject: Foreign Relations:

(b) Attitude towards Pan Americanism. (Ctd.)

Recent and Current Trend: (Contd.)

troversty has affected Pan Americanism, so far as Argentina is concerned. The press attacked Pan Americanism again when Cuba shut out grapes on the ground "The product is infected with the Mediterranean fly - according to an announcement made by the United States Department of Agriculture." The speech of Dr. Delmas, Rural Society Delegate to Pan American Commercial Congress, received the praise and approval of Argentine and Latin controlled press. The Buenos Aires Herald (British) however, in an able Editorial took issue with him on his ideas of Customs Duties and his criticising any foreign country's policy in view of Argentina's Custom regulations.

The press's main accusation however, against the United States and Pan Americanism is political rather than economic. Every few days the Prensa has an editorial - "Crisis of Pan Americanism", "The American International Family", (attacking Pan Americanism because of intervention in Nicaragua), "Mr. Coolidge's speech before the United Press", etc. Quoting La Prensa: "These sentiments (Alleging United States imperialism) are deeply rooted in the Argentine populace and since neither the Government nor the Judicial Institutions give them voice, it falls to the National press to remedy so grave an omission. Pan Americanism is at a crisis and the crisis will become even more formidable if the States persist in their armed interference in Nicaragua." (Prensa March 31st.) From my observations and contacts, I believe there is a deep rooted feeling among all persons here of Latin origin, against Pan Americanism, on political grounds, and among Anglo Argentine on economic. I have selected La Prensa to quote, as I class it more or less along the middle of the scale of newspapers. It claims the largest circulation, is read by the upper middle class and is not so rabid in its denunciation of the United States as are some of the smaller papers. La Nacion, which also claims as large a circulation as the Prensa, probably appeals to the higher classes, and its editorials are a bit more reserved. The above feeling is express however, more or less by all the Latin owned press, and is taken up by the British papers when doing so might profit the British. The people of Argentina are great newspaper readers, and naturally are influenced by them and vice versa the newspapers are influenced in their news by what they think the people wish to read.

From B.A. Argentina.

Report No. 3796.

May 18, 1927.

8-5 167018

G-2 Report

3896

ARGENTINA-----POLITICAL

Subject: Foreign relations:

(c) National Reaction towards the Monroe Doctrine.

The substance of the Monroe Doctrine as announced by President Monroe in his message to Congress on December 2nd, 1823, is as follows:

That there shall be no further colonization in America by European powers; that there shall be no extension of monarchical form of Government to republican American Countries; and that the United States would defend all American Countries against any European aggression.

This message was received in Buenos Aires on February 8th, 1824. The American Minister in Buenos Aires wrote a few days later to President Monroe that the message would have a happy effect throughout Spanish provinces. Three months later the same Minister wrote to the Secretary of State, Adams that the President's message had produced a very good effect but that he looked more to the permanent benefits to be derived than to the temporary effect. In December, 1824, the President of the Argentine Confederation in his message to the National Congress said, with reference to President Monroe's message:

".....It (U.S.) has at the same time made an appeal to our national honor by supposing us capable of contending singlehanded with Spain; but it has constituted itself the guardian of the field of battle in order to prevent any foreign assistance from being introduced to the aid of our rival"

The Governor of Buenos Aires Province in receiving the United States Minister, Forbes, alluded to the Monroe Doctrine and spoke of the good result therefrom. This friendly feeling towards and reception of the Monroe Doctrine continued till about the time of the Mexican War. That War, the Walker expedition to Central America, and even more than those was the fact that Argentina had begun to develop industrially and recognize her potential strength. She then began and does now resent more than anything else the big brother or tutelage attitude of the United States towards Latin America.

As the years passed and the foreign relations became more involved, two more principals became known as essentials of the Monroe Doctrine: That European countries could not acquire any territory in America even with consent of the Nation involved or by adjustment of boundaries; and that non American countries could not occupy any portion of the American republics for collection of debts where acquisition of territory was involved. The United States in 1861 agreed to European countries collecting debts in Mexico until they

From H.A. Argentina.

Report No. 3796. May 18, 1927

G-2 Report

3850

ARGENTINA-----POLITICAL

Subject: Foreign Relations:

(c) National Reaction towards the Monroe Doctrine. (Ctd.)

started to set up an Empire. Then the Venezuelan case wherein Germany asked permission to collect debts from that country provided the Monroe Doctrine was not violated. The United States then offered to act as collection agent. As a direct result of this case and the policy announced for the United States by President Roosevelt resulted in the Drago Doctrine. Luis M. Drago was at that time Foreign Minister of Argentina and he made a vigorous protest that nations did not have any right to intervene for the collection of debts and among other things stated that "collection of loans by military means implies territorial occupation to make them effective and territorial occupation signifies the suppression or subordination of the governments of the countries on which it is imposed." A little later the Argentine Statesman Calvo went a little further and announced a principle that came to be known as the Calvo Doctrine. It claims that Governments are not responsible for losses for life and property suffered by foreigners during internal disturbances; and to demand and enforce indemnity would necessarily deprive nations of the essentials of their independence territorial jurisdiction.

The interpretation and application of the Monroe Doctrine by President Roosevelt has caused more reactions against the principle than any other statesman previous to the present administration. Remarks in a speech made by him in 1904 caused wide outbursts here in Argentina: "Chronic wrong doing or an impotence which results in a general loosening of ties of civilized society may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and, in the western hemisphere, the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however, reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrong doing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power." The Secretary of State Root in his speech in Rio de Janeiro in 1906 poured much oil on the troubled waters and still later Mr. Wilson endeared himself to the people of this country by policies he announced - only later to be condemned for the acts he committed. All of our relations with Cuba, Panama, Haiti, San Domingo, and Central America, have been interpreted by the people of this country and the press as in accordance with the Monroe Doctrine and against the Drago and Calvo teachings. In December of 1923 on the hundred anniversary of the Monroe Doctrine, there was considerable discussion on the subject in the United States and South America. Mr. Hughes made a statement that the United States would look with disfavor upon one Latin American nation attacking another. This brought

From M.A. Argentina. Report No. 3796. May 18, 1927.

G-5 385054

G-1 Report

389

ARGENTINA-----POLITICAL

Subject: Foreign Relations:

(c) National Reactions towards the Monroe Doctrine. (Ctd.)

a general protest from practically all Buenos Aires. Mr. Hughes in Minneapolis during the same year, before the bar association impressed the point that the Monroe Doctrine was distinctly a policy of the United States and "the Government of the United States reserves to itself its definition, interpretation and application." This has always been a thorn in the side of Latin America.

As noted under (b) at the fourth Pan American Conference, Brazil endeavored to secure a unanimous resolution by the Conference expressing to the United States its appreciation of the Monroe Doctrine. Upon objection by some of the Delegates including the Argentines, as to the wording, the matter was dropped.

Recent and Current; Significant Aspects.

The Mexican and Nicaraguan relations have caused a considerable amount of criticism of the United States in the local press. Just how widespread is the feeling is hard to gauge. In January of 1927 a meeting was called by the "Liga Pro Union Americana" to protest against the intervention of the United States in Nicaragua. Some two thousand people attended, it was however a very unenthusiastic gathering. No doubt some communists were mixed with the crowd as the true purpose of the meeting was entirely changed by an anarchist who had chained himself in a tree (so that the police could not pull him out) and began a harengue on Sacco and Vanzetti. In February of this year an attempt was made to hold a similar meeting when only six or seven hundred attended. La Prensa is now conducting an editorial campaign on this subject. As is the practice of that paper in such cases, about every third day, they issue an editorial on the subject. Many of them are very rabid. Speaking of Mr. Coolidge's speech before the press in New York the following comment was made "...does not contain a single piece of good news nor a healthy principle, nor an illustration of democracy, equality or justice" (May 1st, 1927. On April 8th, a long editorial on the subject "Two Edged Sword" appeared the first paragraph is: "In all the histories of international threats, we may safely say that possibly none have proved so elastic as the interpretation given by the United States to the Central American Treaties of Washington. These are twisted and molded to suit each new phase of United States politics, until those people who scarcely understand, and show little interest in such matters, are surprised at the convenient and unexpected manner in which these revered documents are interpreted." There is no question that La Prensa is the paper that most of the upper middle

From M.A. Argentina.

Report No. 3796. May 13, 1927.

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3090

ARGENTINA-----POLITICAL

Subject: Foreign Relations:

(c) National Reactions towards the Monroe Doctrine. (Ctd.)

Recent and Current; Significant Aspects. (Ctd.)

class Argentines read and there is no question but that it has great weight with officials of the Government, (as well as with the people) and that this apparent campaign against the United States will have considerable effect in time.

From L.A. Argentina.

Report No.3796.

May 18, 1927.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

ARGENTINA-----OFFICIAL

Subject: Foreign Relations:

(a) Attitude towards the League of Nations.

Questions on Membership:

The head of the Argentine delegates to the formation of the League of Nations in 1919 was Dr. Honorio Pueyrredon, now Ambassador to the United States. He was at the time Minister of Foreign Affairs in President Irigoyen's Cabinet.

The delegates were given definite instructions that the following provisions must be taken cognizance of by the League, as a prelude to Argentina joining:

1. The Universality of the League
2. The equality of the nations.
3. Effective and identical responsibility for all states adhering to the League
4. The functions of the League not to be retroactive.

On assembling of the League it was decided that the above points would be considered as "annexes", so President Irigoyen issued instructions for the Argentine delegate to withdraw. From then, till the end of the Irigoyen administration, October 1923, Argentina had nothing to do with the League.

President Alvear was one of the delegates in Dr. Pueyrredon's party. As soon as he became president and for the last five years he has tried to secure from the National Congress an expression of their will as to joining the League. Personally he and Dr. Gallardo, Foreign Minister, are very strongly in favor of Argentina joining the League, and it is rumored that they will succeed in September of this year. Such success is contingent upon approval by Congress.

At present their status is similar to the United States. They have observers present and they have taken part in recent disarmament discussions.

From I.A. Argentina.

Report No.3796. May 13,1927.

CONFIDENTIAL

G-2 Report

3-50

ARGENTINA-----POLITICAL

Subject: Foreign Relations:

(c) Pan Latinism

Attitude of Government and Public towards subject:

The Argentine Government is neutral so far as any official attitude is concerned. Personally no doubt, each member is pro-latin in their feelings. The President is especially partial to the French. He was Ambassador there, and should his party win in the next election, he will probably return to France as Minister.

There are various societies of Latin American Countries in Buenos Aires, but none have any official connections.

Dr. Alfredo Palacios and Manuel Ugarte have been leaders in fostering Pan Latinism. The former is a Professor of History here and generally presides at all Latin American meetings. His preachings as described in his own words are:

"My attitude is frankly one of opposition toward the Pan American movement: because I know that a union of that sort the weak and separated people of South America must become the satellites and servants... The only salvation for these democracies of the South lies in the recognition by them of their mutual identity of race and their inevitable unity in destiny, thus bringing about a confederation of all of them to constitute a great power, like the Republic of the North, with which it might deal thus, in analogous conditions..."

Palacios has no standing with the Government who consider him a pretty poor sort. So far as can be ascertained he has no connection with Soviets nor is he on the pay roll of any particular propaganda interests. Manuel Ugarte, the author of "El Porvenir de la America Latina" has consistently advocated Pan Latinism as against Pan Americanism and the Monroe Doctrine. He hates the United States to such an extent that he has even preached Pan Japanism. He is now living in Nice.

Actual Support being gained:

I do not believe any such movement is gaining any support. New attempts are made from time to time but no one of any standing in this country is connected with them, and it is predicted that nothing will ever come of it. Economically it is not sound and it lacks leadership. Pan Americanism, they tried for fifty or sixty years and accomplished nothing till the United States took charge of it. I do not mean that we should ignore it even though it is of small influence. Small though it may be it is certainly Anti-United States to the core.

From B.A. Argentina.

Report No. 3796. May 18, 1927.

6-5 H63074
G-2 Report

3450

ARGENTINA-----POLITICAL

Subject: Foreign Relations:

(c) Pan Latinism. (ctd.)

Actual Support being gained: (ctd.)

On May 9th. appeared in the press an article on the organization of a "Liga Latina Americana", among the principles announced are:

1. "Let us organize an alliance of our republics that shall make us in reality what we have in truth been since the dawn of our independence; one great people, a brotherhood of twenty young States.

2. "Not to participate in any other associations or Alliances with imperial aims.

The conclusion of no treaties that would establish the Pan American Union on a permanent basis, and retirement of all financial support of the same, with a view to its dissolution.

3. Independence of Porto Rico; complete sovereignty and intact territory for Cuba, Haiti and Santo Domingo; suppression of the Platt adme dment to the Cuban constitution; and repeal of all treaties, such as that of Haiti and the United States of September 16, 1915, which jeopardize a portion of the territory of, or establish financial control in, or limit in any way the independence of the republics of the Antilles. Complete repudiation of the treaty of July 28, 1926 between Panama and the United States, and of any other agreement that permits or aggravates the present situation of the isthmus republic. Revision of the old treaties on the basis of the complete sovereignty of Panama, and occupation by the United States of the Canal Zone only.

4. No transfer of European possessions in the New World to the United States without due consideration of the opinion and national interests of our peoples. Unconditional return of the Malvinas (Falkland Islands) to the Argentine.

5. Political organization of South America on the basis of mutual understanding and strict cooperation between Argentina, Brazil and Chile, with a view to the realization of alliance among themselves, and the surrounding nations. Similar cooperation between Mexico, Central America and the Antilles. Finally the establishment of a "League of the Latin American Nations."

6. The agreement for the foundation of the new entity was signed by the following delegates:-

For Central America: G. Herrera Arrivillaga, Angel Muñoz Aguilar, Jesus Garcia Batres; for Perú: Moises Diaz;

From H.A.Argentina.

Report No.3796. May 13, 1927.

9-3 380748
G-2 Report

307

ARGENTINA-----POLITICAL

Subject: Foreign Relations:

(e) Pan Latinism. (ctd.)

Actual Support being gained: (ctd.)

for Uruguay: J. A. Collazo, J. Oscar Cosco Montaldo & Silvestre Perez; for Argentina: Arturo Ornelas Quintana, Florencio Mosquera, Kelly, Carlos A. Lazcano, Conrado R. Kiernan, Jose Maria Ruiz, Federico F. Monjardin, Homero M. Guglielmini, Jose Luis Cerruti, Fortunato Liza (hijo), Manuel Juan Cruz, Ricardo R. rodi, Rogulo C. Vinvigurta, Angel Vassallo, Fernando L. Olicera, Simon Aramburu, Hector C. Morizo, Ambrosio Herviani, Eligio Rinaldi, Rodolfo I. Turdera, Angel Talico, Atilio O. Liroy, Rafael Gonzalez, Jose R. Luna, Alfredo Vercelli, Atanasio Celorrio, Eugenio D. Martinez & René Rossi Montero.

The founders offered the presidency of the Alliance to Dr. Manuel Ugarte, now at Nice, Dr. Ugarte accepted the offer."

From Lima, Peru, dispatch it is reported that Soto Hall with approval of Señor Paz, Proprietor of La Prensa, is the guiding hand in this movement. Soto Hall is a Guatemalan and has journeyed through Central and South America; I am informed in the interest of Pan Latinism. While the Prensa on May 10th. printed an editorial explaining the idea of the League and aims to be accomplished, it was very mild for the Prensa on a subject which concerns the United States. I do not believe that Señor Paz is behind the League. If so, some prominent Argentines would be among its sponsors.

Only two of the Argentine signers have ever been heard of by the Embassy. Quintana on which a report has been made. It is believed that he is still on the pay roll of Soviets; and one other man who is a professor in a College here, but of no importance.

The Chargé d'Affairs informs me that upon inquiry the Foreign Office stated this League has no official standing or support.

Sources:

Newspapers
Future of Latin America - Ugarte
Problems in Pan Americanism, Inman
Chargé d'Affairs.

C. B. Anderson
From M.A. Argentina.

Report No. 3796. May 18, 1927.

G-2 Report

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3020 12

ARGENTINA-----POLITICAL

Subject: Principal Foreign Policies.

The predominating influence in Argentine foreign policies are racial ties and economic interests.

The first is very strong and daily occurrences may be cited as illustrations. This racial influence comes not only from the mother country, but as well (and in one case probably stronger) from the mother countries of the immigrants who have since settled in the country. Their Cultural influence is all Latin American.

Argentina being an agricultural country, with a surplus of such products for sale, and having to go into foreign markets for all her needs other than food; economics have a great influence on her foreign policies. She has in the past welcomed foreign capital in development of industries, railroads etc. Only recently has some feeling been aroused against foreign capital, and that is only when a foreign owned industry competes with a native owned one. Recently much is heard of "Buy from those who buy from us". Such an idea being economically unsound will have little effect. The people will always buy where it profits them most.

Argentina's present Administration favors the League of Nations. Congress each year, however, has refused to do more than appropriate funds for an unofficial observer.

The Drago Doctrine is well rooted in the opinion of the public here. The Argentine people resent very much the intervention of the United States in Nicaragua, and pass up no opportunity to give expression to their feelings.

Argentina does not look with favor on, or exhibit much interest in, Pan Americanism. She has assumed an attitude that she can expect more from the League of Nations and Europe (except to borrow money) than from any closer union with American countries.

Argentina is on friendly terms with all her neighbours, and has no territorial expansion ideas. She is however pro-Argentine and leaves no leaf unturned to advance her own position and aims to maintain herself as the most important country in South America.

Sources:

Newspapers.
Argentine writers, Ugarte and others.

C. B. Richardson
From L.A. Argentina.

Report No. 37890

May 3, 1927.

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ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Foreign Relations.

(b) Attitude Towards Pan-Americanism. 1928

Add: SIXTH PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE

The 6th Pan American Conference met in Havana, Cuba on the 16th day of January 1928. The President of the Argentine delegation was Dr. Honorio Pueyrredón, Ambassador to the United States, Dr. Lauretino Glascoaga, Minister to Cuba, Dr. Felipe A. Espil, Counsellor to the Argentine Embassy in the United States and Arios, a Secretary.

It was generally believed that the instructions given the delegates by the Argentine Government were friendly to the United States, and the Pan-American ideals. Part of the instructions pertaining to the organization of the Pan-American Union were made public by the President as follows:

"Instructions: The delegates may support the draft convention prepared by the Executive Council, the essential principles of which are as follows:

1: The representation of the American countries in the Pan-American Conferences and in the Executive Council is an inherent right. 2: The President and the Vice-President of the Executive Council are elective officials. 3: The States which, for any reason, might not have diplomatic representatives accredited to the Government of the United States of America, may appoint special representatives on the council. 4: In conformity with a resolution of the Fifth Pan-American Conference, the formation of four permanent committees is planned which are to advise the Pan-American Union in commercial matters, with respect to the International organization of labor, in regard to matters relating to health, and in encouragement of intellectual cooperation on the American continent. It should be observed, however, that it is impossible to accept the plan of forming the committee to study the international organization of labor, as such an organization already exists in the League of Nations at Geneva, which is universal in scope, of which the Argentine Republic constitutes an active part, and whose efficacious results render unnecessary this other regional organism. Furthermore, they will advise that, with respect to the creation of a retirement and pension fund for the officials and employees of the Union to which they will adhere in principle, that matter must receive the approval of the legislature, because of the amount of subsidy that each country must contribute to the support thereof. This opinion has been transmitted to the Argentine Embassy in Washington, for communication to the Executive Council of the Pan-American Union."

The question of the United States policy in Nicaragua was not mentioned in the first instructions. Due to local conditions (politics) and to comply with demands from the daily newspaper that the Government declare themselves on the policy of the United States in Nicaragua, the Government on January 11th gave out the following:

From: L.A. Argentina. Report No. 3871. February 27th, 1928

ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Foreign Relations

(b) Attitude Towards Pan Americanism

"The Executive Power has contemplated the possibility that some of the delegations to the Sixth Pan-American Conference might bring up the Nicaragua question and that the legal majority might resolve to consider it. In that case the Argentine delegation after making a statement to the effect that it does not wish to advance an opinion relative to the juridical relations between the United States and Nicaragua, shall make a declaration of principles of international policy in accord with the Argentine traditions of respect of the free determination and interdependence of the American Nations."

It may be noted that Argentina was the only country which published any such instructions as being given to their Pan-American Delegates.

The speech of the President of the United States at Havana was received in Buenos Aires in varying degrees of outbursts of criticism against the United States. "La Critica" (yellow journal) Published in large headlines, such remarks as "Coolidge fails to Convince"; "It is a speech hollow and false"; "Nobody believes him"; (with a picture of the President) etc., followed with a great tirade against the United States; occupation of Nicaragua and the Monroe Doctrine. The Prensa which probably has more influence in Argentina than any other "diario" was also very harsh in its criticism of the speech. This paper for many months has carried on a very determined campaign against the United States' policy in Nicaragua and the Monroe doctrine in general. The Nacion in a more conservative manner, as well as the Razon both criticised and made note of the expounding of such brilliant programs of Pan-Americanism by the man who in the last few years has put into practice the methods repudiated in the field of theory.

Mr. Hughes' speech at the Pan American Conference did much to clear the situation and while not accepted by the very radical papers as convincing, yet the attacks have been less drastic. The Prensa however holds out in its attack and basing its argument that the United States cannot talk of independence of the smaller Latin American countries with the United States troops occupying Nicaragua. That no political parties can ask intervention in an independent country. And this paper likewise continues its campaign against the Monroe Doctrine.

On January 23rd, the President of the Argentine Delegation (Dr. Pueyrredon) made a long speech directed against the United States Tariff walls. The Argentine Government had not been consulted with reference to this speech, nor was the speech cabled here, even for the information of the Argentine Foreign Office, and the subject of the speech was not included in instructions given the delegates. On January 24th the

From: M.A. Argentina. Report No. 3871

February 27th, 1928

MEMORANDUM (Political)

Subject: Foreign Relations.

(c) Attitude Towards Pan-Americanism.

Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs (Dr. Sagarna), on the strength of newspaper reports, sent Dr. Pueyrredon a message from which the following is quoted: "It gives me pleasure again to congratulate your Excellency for the proposals presented, inspired in noble and frank Pan-Americanism."

Apparently the Argentine Foreign Office was out of close touch with happenings in Havana until February 10th when a message was received by the President from one of the Argentine delegates (Espil). In substance, the President was informed that Pueyrredon had served an ultimatum that he would not sign the convention if a clause was not inserted to the effect: "To remove as far as possible all economic barriers and establish an equality of commercial conditions among all nations." All the other delegates were willing to sign the convention in the form set forth in instructions from the Argentine Government. That Pueyrredon's attitude was interpreted as a death blow to Pan-Americanism and in open opposition to the United States Espil recommended that Pueyrredon be ordered to sign the convention.

On the same date, Dr. Alvear personally sent the following message:

"Buenos Aires, February 10, 1928. No. 13. American Ambassador Pueyrredon, Havana. From the President of the Nation. I have followed very attentively your brilliant and eloquent defense of the economic clause for the preamble of the convention of the Organization of the Pan-American Union, and I consider that as these principles have been saved by your clear explanations, it is advisable to sign and not carry intransigence to an extreme, which would place the Republic in an isolated position, and as if opposed to the principle of Pan-American co-operation, Alvear".

The reply of Dr. Pueyrredon was sent on the 11th (Saturday), but not received here till Monday the 13th. The full message is as follows:

"From Dr. Pueyrredon for the President. In reply to your telegram No. 13 I must make clear to Your Excellency that my resignation against signing the convention until there is included therein the principle of an economic nature, does not create a situation of isolation nor does it signify that we are opposing Pan-Americanism, since the Pan-American Union will continue just as it exists today, owing to the Agreement of 1906, which gave it a definite existence over periods of ten years, until the countries should determine the contrary. What is attempted now is to bind us by a treaty that does not improve the situation in any way, but which declines to embrace that principle of harmony and of respect for the just interests of the other, with such an unyielding spirit that

From: M.A. Argentina. Report No. 3871. February 27th, 1928

ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Foreign Relations

(b) Attitude towards Pan-Americanism

they have refused to incorporate not only an obligatory clause, but even the mere expression of a desire. To reject it means the declaration of a protest against an aggressive financial policy which becomes more accentuated each day and which an American Senator described recently by saying that the domestic market of the United States must be kept for themselves, and that to accomplish this the tariffs would be raised 500% if necessary. Argentina, who is injured by such a policy, which she does not apply in reprisal, has, in my opinion, no better opportunity to affirm her opposition, than by adopting this attitude, not, in fact, against Pan-Americanism, but against those who understand otherwise the sound interests of this country. The indication that I should sign shows me Your Excellency is not aware that I have made categorical declarations before the Committee expressing my opposition to such a course. Furthermore, my attitude does not prevent the convention from being sent to the Argentine Government in order that, by means of its own powers, and upon the basis of its own responsibility, it would accept or reject it. Receive, Your Excellency the expressions of my thanks for your friendly and generous views. "Pueyrredon".

The Argentine Foreign Office states that during the week-end of February 11th-13th, nothing was given to the press, yet despatches carried the news that Pueyrredon had been ordered to sign. So the morning of the 13th, another message was received from Dr. Pueyrredon sent on the 12th stating that newspaper reports were embarrassing him, and requesting a reply to his message of the 11th. Also he informed the Argentine Government that if he did not receive a reply by Monday noon (13th) he would reiterate his position on the economic clause.

At 9:40 a.m. on the 13th there was delivered to Dr. Pueyrredon's hotel in Havana a message from the Argentine Foreign Office stating that the President was in Mar del Plata and could not be consulted until the 14th, that the President had not seen the two previous messages from Dr. Pueyrredon, and suggesting that Dr. Pueyrredon should not attend the meetings of the 13th.

On the same day, Dr. Pueyrredon cabled the Argentine Foreign Office that on his return to the hotel after the Conference he found the foregoing message; that he had confirmed at this session his former statement: that a definite vote would take place of the 15th; and a reply to his two cables to the President would be appreciated.

On February 14th, the Foreign Office sent the following message to Dr. Pueyrredon:

From: M.A. Argentina. Report No. 3871 February 27th, 1928

ARGENTINA (Combat)

Subject: Foreign Relations.

(b) Attitude towards Pan Americanism.

"Ambassador Pueyrredón, Havana. In reply to your telegram 7 and 8, the President of the Nation deplores that your Excellency has brought about an extreme situation, which this Chancellery did not believe that Your Excellency could have attained, in as much as the matter proposed by Your Excellency was not included in the general instructions to the delegates of the Argentine Republic; neither has it formed subject of special instructions, nor has this Chancellery ever received any opinion from Your Excellency in this connection. Even though this Government were in favor of a uniform system of Customs tariffs in America for all products of American countries, which would resemble the theory Your Excellency has thought fit to uphold, we understand that the Pan-American Union is an administrative body which does not admit of intermissions of a political or a politico-economic nature in its constitution, since this would constitute an attack upon the autonomy and independence of the countries that are its members. As Your Excellency appears to approve of the substance of the preamble and as your difference of opinion is limited to a tariff clause, Your Excellency cannot object to signing the convention in order to prevent the collapse of the Pan-American organization whose usefulness cannot be denied, and from which we would be excluded through a completely unyielding attitude. Your Excellency can, nevertheless, upon signing, make the appropriate reservations, a procedure followed in other international conferences, saving thus the principles upheld by Your Excellency in order to bring about their triumph on a more propitious occasion, a procedure which contains the double advantage of saving the situation in which Your Excellency finds yourself and of leaving the Government greater freedom to adopt the viewpoint it considers most convenient, after studying all the facts that it does not possess which Your Excellency will transmit at an opportune moment. As we have no doubt that Your Excellency is animated by the same patriotic desires and fervor which animate this Government to defend Argentine interests, we are certain that Your Excellency will find that the procedure described here is most suitable to attain the ideals with which Your Excellency is inspired. Gallardo".

Dr. Pueyrredón replied with a long message on February 15th, the substance of which follows: He stated that he desired to clear up several points. That the economic clause corresponds in its character to the subjects on the program of the Congress; that the Argentine Foreign Office should have considered them when sending felicitations for his speech; that his attitude of not signing was not new; that he made it in the speech on which he was congratulated by the Foreign Office; that refusing to sign would not break the Pan-American Union; and there were so many advantages in not signing

From: M.A. Argentina.

Report No. 3871.

Feb. 27th, 1928

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- 1 -
MEMORANDUM (Political)

Subject: Foreign Relations.

(b) Attitude towards Pan-Americanism.

the convention. Dr. Pueyrredon quoted Wilson's point No. 3 in the latter's basis for peace, and further to quote: "Mr. Minister, what when a citizen arrives at a certain position in life, he has direct responsibilities to his country and he cannot evade them either for conventionality of form or even to comply with superior instructions. In view of the above, I find it impossible to sign that convention, and consequently, I send under separate cover to His Excellency the President the definite resignation of the office of President of the Argentine delegation and of Ambassador before the Government of the United States."

The President, on the 15th sent the following message: "Buenos Aires, February 15th, Ambassador Pueyrredon, Havana. I received your telegram No. 11 Foreign Affairs telegraphed you answering your explanatory despatch. The new instructions which Your Excellency will receive for that conduct will be the result of our desire to avoid the appearance of differences between the opinion of the Government and the attitudes of the delegation which represents it and of our conviction that everything should be sacrificed to the necessity of affirming the concept of seriousness and agreement in the emergency. I trust that these new instructions will overcome the personal motives which have caused you to think of resigning from the delegation and from the Embassy, and Your Excellency will continue to lend your valuable service to the country. I thank you for the friendly expressions in your telegram and reiterate the regard of your friend.- Alvear."

This was followed by one on the same date from the Foreign Office authorizing Pueyrredon not to sign, and that the convention would be approved here.

Dr. Pueyrredon replied on the 16th as follows: "Havana, February 16th, No. 13. Minister of Foreign Affairs, Buenos Aires. With reference to your telegram 17, the manifestations of your Excellency expressing conformity in the non-signature of the convention of the Pan-American Union, gives me the greatest personal satisfaction, which is increased by the kind private telegram of His Excellency the President, in which he expresses his desire that I withdraw my resignation. If it were only my personal situation which was affected, nothing would give me greater pleasure than to accede to the desires of the Government, which honors me in formulating them. But we are Mr. Minister faced with a question of public interest constituted by a principle of economic character as the basis of Pan-Americanism, which for my part I consider of the greatest importance for the Republic and which Your Excellency does not look upon in the same light. In consequence, I find myself obliged to repeat the resignation in the spirit in which I have presented it."

From: M.A. Argentina. Report No. 3871. February 27, 1928

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G-2 Report

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ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Foreign Relations.

(b) Attitude towards Pan Americanism.

"I desire to once more express y appreciation for another proof of the consideration of which His Excellency the the President and Your Excellency have made me the object. Accept, Mr. Minister, the expressions of my highest consideration. H. Pueyrredon."

And he followed this by another on the same day in which he said in order to clear up the ambiguous situation in which the Argentine delegation had been placed, he had made public his resignation.

The Foreign Minister on the 16th cabled Dr. Pueyrredón that the whole idea of the President in requesting the withdrawal of resignation was to prevent the public from knowing of the disagreement between the President of the delegation and the Argentine Government. As he, Dr. Pueyrredón had made this public, there was no other solution except to accept the resignation and thank him for his services.

Dr. Pueyrredon, on the same date sent the following: "Havana, February, 16, 1928. I reply to your telegram of yesterday. In the telegram to the Ministry I express the fundamental cause which prevented the modification of my attitude. On the other hand, the publicity which had divulged the opinion that the Government disapproved my conduct, which has reached even the discussions of the commission in which the delegate of Perú alluded indirectly, signify that no delegate had the right to assume personal attitudes which were not authorized by his Government, diminishes my position as Argentine representative. In view of these facts, no conciliatory manifestation even though inspired in the wholesome purposes which you indicate, may give me the integral authority which I lack to continue representing the Government of my country. You, who know the high appreciation and the affection in which I hold you, will understand how deep-rooted are my convictions, which do not permit me to accede to your request. You, who understand the firm stand and who have proved it so many times in life, will appreciate the reason for my conduct, which wrong or right, is patriotically sincere. Believe that I thank you for your request and appreciate everything it signifies, and that I shall not forget your many considerations, as President, nor need the bonds of affection to the friend of every hour be weakened, I embrace you. "Pueyrredon".

The President closed the matter in his message of the 17th of February: "Buenos Aires, February 17, 1928. Pueyrredon, Havana. I have received your urgent private telegram of yesterday. Its contents oblige me to return to the point of departure of the incident which provoked it and to manifest to you that my Government, surprised by the intransigent attitude which you assumed in announcing, without pre-

From: M.A. Argentina. Report No. 3871 February 27, 1928

ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Foreign Relations.

(b) Attitude towards Pan Americanism.

vious consultation, that you would not sign the convention if it did not include your propositions regarding customs tariffs, analyzed the situation and understood that you had been right in the enunciation of the principles, but wrong in regard to the extreme resolution with which you endeavored to impose them. The character of the international conference in which you were taking part would not have permitted that my Government authorize its delegation to assume such a manner, before the delegations of other nations as free and respectable as ours. For that reason, and in view of the situation created, we requested you to suspend that intemperance once the ideas were safeguarded, as they were. I lamented your failure to understand, at the moment, but I concealed my thought because of the well-understood interests of the country, and understood that our dignity was compromised by that enlightening episode of a certain apparent irresponsibility in handling such delicate international questions. In order to avoid that moral danger to our country, and not for the high personal considerations which I professed for you, I preferred to sacrifice my official position and my own opinion, and tolerate, in spite of everything, your following the path you had selected, in my judgement, imprudently. In this manner I ratified, as President of the Republic, that firmness of will and position, for which you give me thanks, which I appreciate, and which inspired my conduct when I, being the delegate and you President of the Argentine delegation in Geneva, reserved my personal opinions, without a murmur, and sacrificed them in homage to the respect and the international authority of my country and of its Government. Then as delegate and today as President of the Republic, my position was categorical in regard to all that was personal and in favor of everything that signified the prestige of my country. I regret that your last telegram demonstrates to me that everything I have done has been useless, inasmuch as you reiterate your resignation. I reciprocate your personal sentiments, which have not been changed in their affectionate intimacy by these events. Alvarez, President of the Argentine Nation".

ATTITUDE OF THE PRESS:

The Argentine press is against the United States. The most conservative, "La Nacion" made a so-called study of tariffs and tried to show the effect on the working class in Argentina and the United States respectively. It favored Dr. Pueyrredon's stand in theory, but did not support him when he put himself above his Government. "La Prensa" has carried many editorials against the Pan-American Conference and ridiculed the idea of Panamericanism while troops were in Nicaragua. It was in favor of Dr. Pueyrredon's idea though the economic clause was not so much interest to this paper as the subject of non-intervention. When Dr. Pueyrredon reached the

From: M.A. Argentina. Report No. 3871. February 27th, 1928

G-2 Report

3850

ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Foreign Relations.

(b) Attitude towards Pan Americanism.

dead-lock with his Government, it devoted its attacks against the Foreign Office and the "wishy-washy" Government.

La Critica (yellow sheet) and some of the smaller papers hailed Pueyrredón as a hero who had the courage to stand up against the Yankee imperialism.

There can be no question but Dr. Pueyrredón had no other motives than the hope of personal gain in the political situation in Argentina in his economic clause argument. This country has as high a tariff wall as any country in the world and when cost of production is below the world market an export tax is assessed. Over 50% of the country's revenue comes from custom duties. With free trade, this country would be in financial difficulties in no time.

The personal opinion of the undersigned is that the Argentine Government has little interest in Pan-Americanism. The Argentine people as a whole care nothing about it, however, they are influenced by the press and the press is against anything and everything tending to give leadership to the United States.

2657-1.72 (10)
The general situation described in the last paragraph of 3796 has not changed. The causes for such an anti-United States attitude are not clear. The undersigned is executing all energy to try to get at the foundation of the attitude of the press in this country towards the United States.

Sources:

Daily Newspapers
Embassy Files

From: *Ed. R. Smith*
M.A. Argentina.

Report No. 3871. February 27th, 1928

FOR OFFICIAL USE
ONLY

G-2 Report

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ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Foreign Relations

(d) Attitude toward the League of Nations.

The equivocal situation of Argentina with regard to the League of Nations which has existed for many years, was finally resolved with the approval of the Pact by the Senate on September 25th, 1933.

The Lower Chamber had already given its approval, so that the Senate's sanction made the measure law. Senator Rothe spoke in favor of the project on behalf of the Committee of Constitutional Affairs. He summarized the antecedents of the League itself and of Argentina's relations with it. He maintained that the League had consolidated itself in recent times and that its successes had been constant and permanent, whereas its failures were only accidental and transitory, and he added that Argentine public opinion had always been in favor of the acceptance of the Pact. Senator Lisandro de la Torre opposed the project on grounds of form and wording, emphasizing however his admiration of the League and his desire that Argentina should form part of it - by means of some other formula. He also asked for information as to the position of Argentina with respect to the annual quotas due to the League. The Minister of Foreign Affairs intervened in the debate and in the course of his advocacy of ratification of the Pact, he explained the position regarding the quotas.

It will be recalled that the late President Irigoyen expressed the unreserved adhesion of Argentina to the League and sent his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Doctor Honorio Pueyrredon, as head of a delegation to its first Assembly. From that Assembly Doctor Pueyrredon and his colleagues withdrew in a spectacular manner owing to a divergency of points of view with respect to the equality of rights of member nations. President Irigoyen never sought the requisite confirmation of the Argentine Congress to the act of adhesion. The annual quotas, however, were paid up to 1928. Now it appears that as the result of conversations with the League Secretariat, Argentina will pay the quota for the current year, leaving over for discussion later, the question of her liability in respect of the past four years. In spite of Doctor de la Torre's thunder, the project was sanctioned unanimously by the Senate. The text of the measure freely translated is as follows:

"Article 1. - The Pact of the Society of Nations, contained in the first twenty-six articles of the Treaty of Peace signed at Versailles on June 28, 1919, is hereby approved.

"Article 2. - The amendments to Articles 4, 6, 12, 13 and 15 of the said Pact, the two first of which came into force on July 29, 1926 and August 13, 1924, respectively, and the three last on September 26, 1924, are hereby approved.

From M.A.Argentina Report No.4758 October 6,1933.

ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Foreign Relations.

(d) Attitude toward the League of Nations.

"Article 3. - The declaration of principles and articles 387 to 427 of the Treaty of Peace of Versailles, which constitute its Part XIII, referring to the International Organization of Labor, are hereby approved.

"Article 4. - The Executive Power is authorized to pay the amount of the quota assigned to the Argentine Republic for the maintenance of the Society of Nations for the period corresponding to the year of the promulgation of this law.

"Article 5. - In communicating this law to the Secretariat of the Society of Nations, the Executive Power shall place it on record that the Argentine Republic considers that the Monroe Doctrine mentioned by way of example in article 21 of the Pact, is a unilateral political declaration, which in its time rendered a signal service to the cause of American emancipation, but that it does not constitute a regional agreement, as the said article expresses it.

"Article 6. - The expenditure which compliance with this law calls for shall be effected out of general revenue and charged to same.

"Article 7. - Let this be communicated to the Executive Power."

Frederick A. Sharp
Capt G.S.M.A.
From M.A. Argentina

Report No. 4758

October 6, 1933.

NO CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION
IN SERVICE JOURNALS.

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C-2 Report

3850-b

ARGENTINA - Political

Subject: Argentine Delegation to the Inter-American Conference
for the Maintenance of Peace.

The following form the Argentine Delegation to the Inter-American Conference now being held in Buenos Aires:

Chairman: Dr. Carlos Saavedra Lamas, Minister for Foreign Affairs.
(For details see report No. 5474 of November 4, 1936)

Delegates: Dr. Roberto M. Ortiz, Minister of Finance. (For details see report No. 5474 of November 4, 1936)

Dr. Miguel Angel Carcano, Minister of Agriculture. (For details see report No. 5474 of November 4, 1936)

Sr. Jose Maria Cantilo, Ambassador to Italy, since 1933. Sr. Cantilo has been in the diplomatic service since 1906, in Italy, Brazil and Uruguay. He was Argentine representative at the League of Nations.

Dr. Leopoldo Melo, Minister of Interior from 1932 to 1935. Dr. Melo ran for Presidency against Iruygen in 1928 and was badly defeated. He is a clever politician and may be a candidate for President in 1937.

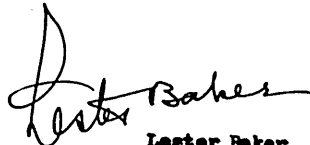
Dr. Isidoro Ruiz Moreno, Legal adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Dr. Moreno has a very intelligent legal mind and is efficient in his job. He is a professor of public international law and has been a delegate to many conferences.

Dr. Daniel Antokolets, Director of Economic Matters of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Dr. Antokolets is also legal adviser and professor of public international law.

Dr. Felipe Espil, Ambassador to Washington.

All the above named are friendly to the United States.

Sources of information: Press & personal contacts.



Lester Baker
Lt. Col., Inf.
Military Attache

AIR MAIL

G-2 Report.

866
1938
INTELL. DIV.

2657-L-72
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3850-8

ARGENTINA- Political.

Subject: Pan Latinism;
Buenos Aires-Rio de Janeiro Axis.

RECEIVED 6/2 W-01 JAN 21 1938

Significant statements made by President Justo of Argentina and President Vargas of Brazil at their meeting January 9, 1938, on the occasion of dedicating the monoliths which mark the site of the international bridge over the Rio Uruguay have caused editorial comment in Buenos Aires which indicates a Rio-B.A. Axis in South American affairs. Both, apparently, gave warning that their countries had no use for any "isms" from Europe, either Fascist or Communist. Furthermore, they stood for Latin-American solidarity and the "good neighbor" doctrine.

Some comment was caused by the fact that neither foreign minister was present at this meeting of the two presidents. The Brazilian minister had a substitute but there was no one from the Argentine Foreign Office. Comment on this was that the absence was due to the recent protest by Argentine Foreign Minister on the proposed leasing of six American destroyers to Brazil.

This is the third time the two chief executives have met officially; once Justo visited Rio de Janeiro, and Vargas visited Buenos Aires. The Argentine press was unanimous in its criticism of the Vargas coup d'etat of last November. As this meeting on January 9th was the first since that event the remarks of the two presidents took on added significance.

The salient part of the Vargas speech was: "At no other epoch in our history has the necessity of intensifying and making inter-American relations still closer imposed itself more decisively. When the postulates of international law are being made the subject of controversy, and a wave of scepticism threatens to subvert the teachings of Christian solidarity of America.... it is necessary to unite to give the world an example of peaceful living together, and of loyal collaboration in the domain of economic relations."

President Justo: " Thus we consolidate the policy of American fraternity and of good-neighborship which it has been our good fortune to initiate in this part of the continent, interpreting the profound aspiration of the peoples who compose it. ... Only the zeal of servile imitation could create in this young America, free from hatreds and petty passions, the problems which are being confronted in the old continents after centuries of suffering, prejudice and ill-will. It may be that in the remote future, the day will come for America too, when, plethoric with population, life will become hard and harsh, and its people having lost faith and confidence in themselves and become blinded by hatred and despair, will turn into ravening wolves. We will not seek to hasten that day by transplanting artificially into our almost virgin soils the germs of the terrible problems which are gravitating with the weight of an ineluctable fate in millenary civilizations."

Source: Press comment.

Original & 4 copies airmailed Jan. 22nd.
Confirmation copy by steamer Jan. 22nd.

Lester Baker
Lester Baker, Col. Inf.,
Military Attaché.

AIR MAIL

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2657-L-72

APR 5 1938

G-2 Report.

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ARGENTINA - Political.

Subject: Foreign Relations;
Attitude toward Pan Americanism.

RECEIVED G, 2 W. O. APR 5 1938

The Nazi attempt to dictate to Brazil on the treatment of German "cultural societies" in the southern states of that country a few days ago has made Pan Americanism a reality as never before. The reaction to the incident in the Buenos Aires press indicates a more friendly feeling toward the Monroe Doctrine and the agreements of the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace. The press comment - both in Spanish and English language (British-owned) papers - takes account of the fact that only the military power of the United States is a possible bulwark against Nazi or Fascist aggression in South America.

All back up President Vargas and Foreign Minister Aranha of Brazil in their attitude toward the German demands. Every editorial makes the point that there are no "minorities" in the American republics, as the term is known in Europe; that there are only Citizens and Foreigners residing in the countries from Canada to Tierra del Fuego.

The Buenos Aires Herald (Anglo-Argentine) in a long editorial against Nazism and Fascism dangers in South America - based on the German-Brazilian incident - says: "It may be recalled that prior to the outbreak of the World War, an enthusiastic German imperialist published a book in which he portrayed the field covered by the future German Empire. Among the colonies of the Reich was depicted a large strip of Southern Brazil, embracing the townships of Blumenau and Joinville, as well as much territory farther to the south and west of those points. An irate Brazil entered the war on the side of the Allied Powers and subsequent investigations showed the extent to which German organization had proceeded in the states of Santa Catharina and Rio Grande do Sul. But, while the Germans were placed under supervision, nothing really grave was done to hamper their private lives or to obstruct their business activities - particularly where they enjoyed dual nationality.

".....Truly Nazi activity has been somewhat difficult in Argentina, because the Germans are not markedly numerous in comparison with peoples of other lands. But in Brazil, German Neucoli have been formed at fixed points and control the territory and the government in their immediate vicinity. Were they to rise, they could create a problem of some magnitude for the Federal soldiery. The same thing is true of certain areas in Chile and, we believe, in Paraguay."

"But against the organization of German colonists, aided by the German Government, there stands one supreme obstacle: the United States attitude towards European intervention in South American affairs. Whether that opposition be described as the Monroe Doctrine or not, the fact remains that it is a living thing. That which remains to be proved, however, is whether or not the average United States citizen regards it as sufficiently important to justify an appeal to arms."

".....The deliberate interference in purely Brazilian affairs is a menace to the New World. None can save that world excepting a united effort to repel aggression, no matter whence it

From M/A Argentina.

Report No. 5766.

March 24, 1938.

G-2 Report.

3,850-b.

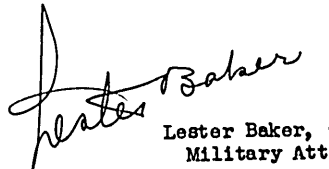
comes. And Latin America, proud though it may be, cannot afford to act without the fullest support of the United States. We hope and believe that, at long last, Berlin will be told that her era of meddling is at an end."

Under the heading: "Intervención Indamisible", La Nacion devotes a column discussing the German-Brazilian affair. "All America", it says, "is on the side of Brazil. It is hoped that this incident will be terminated rapidly and that no similar one will occur. At the same time, it is necessary to say to citizens of other countries residing in the Americas that they have an obligation to remain aloof from political activities; they enjoy civil rights only".

"Critica" says: "It is not sufficient to hinder attempts at Nazi interference in this continent, it is necessary to put an end to them once and for all. That the danger is not limited to Brazil is known, for in Argentina there are Nazi schools where pupils are taught that Germany should rule the world".

"La Razon" calls attention to the fact that the "jus sanguinis" theory has never been accepted by the American Republics, so that the majority of the alleged German subjects in this part of the world are not Germans at all, having been born on American soil.

Source: As stated.



Lester Baker, Col. Inf.,
Military Attaché.

Original & 4 copies airmailed Mar. 26th.
Confirmation copy by steamer Mar. 26th.

AIR MAIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APR 18 1938

OFFICE CHIEF OF
MIL. INTL. DIV.

26 57-L-72

18
3,020-1.

G-2 Report.

ARGENTINA - Political.

Subject: Stability of Government;
German Nazi Activities in Argentina.

RECEIVED 12 W.D. APR 14 1938

Since the recent furor in Brazil over that country's long established German communities, Argentina has become Nazi-conscious.

The German population in Argentina presents a situation similar to that in Brazil. Nazi activities here are now being investigated by government officials who seek a way to curb such activities before they lead to the formation of foreign colonies within the country.

A recent scandal in the appointment of public school teachers lead to to the inspection of all the schools throughout the various provinces and territories. This inspection disclosed the fact that a large number of teachers were teaching only in the German language, and, according to a report made by the Governor of the Territory of La Pampa to the Minister of the Interior, - "There are some schools for primary teaching, called German, which function with the apparent intention of teaching the German language and religion, but whose essential aim consists of maintaining alive in the children the spirit of the nationality of their parents so as to make them veritable foreign citizens entirely devoid of any nationalist character.... The classroom walls are covered with maps and emblems of foreign countries - no portraits of famous Argentines or symbols of our nationality. And, to complete the picture, the practice of the salute with the arm extended is not lacking, accompanied by the exclamation which invokes a European personage".

The Governor's report concludes by saying: "To allow these schools to continue under the conditions at present prevailing in them would be equivalent to admitting the gradual formation of foreign colonies within the country, constituting some day a little country inside our own". He finishes by recommending action to "remove the possibility of future complications".

"Critica", of the local press, states that the Governor personally inspected some schools "where the pupils received a thorough education in Nazi history, but were not taught the Spanish language", and that the Governor is reported to have questioned several of the children and to have asked them who was President of the Republic, and in reply they gave the Nazi salute and said: "Hitler".

Inspectors for the National Education Board, reporting on the Province of Entre Rios, revealed the fact "that the German language was spoken exclusively in the 'Mariano Belgrano' school at Nogoyá where the inspectors were surprised to be greeted by the children with the Nazi salute, and still more flabbergasted when the schoolmaster did the same thingthe walls were adorned with portraits of Hitler, Hindenburg, San Martin and Sarmiento, but the first two were in imposing frames while the latter unobtrusively took back seats".

It was further reported by these inspectors that "in the province of San Luis the Fascist Society: 'B. Mussolini' has formed

From M/A Argentina.

Report No. 5774.

April 4, 1938.

G-2 Report.

3,020-f.

a body of 'Balillas' who are taught to give the Fascist salute whenever opportunity offers", and in the Province of Misiones the colonies are particularly efficient in giving the scholars good grounding in the superiority of the Germanic race. They are said to be taught the goose-step, and a number of war-like songs - "Die Wacht am Rhein" and Horst Wessel song which they sing from memory for visiting Nazis.

REMARKS.

The above data taken together with other less important details in reference not only to Nazi but also to Fascisti activities is believed to indicate, in the opinion of the M/A, that Argentina not only disapproves of such activities but is taking actual steps to prevent the continuance of subversive activities which might endanger the stability of her Government. He believes that Argentina is fully aware of the danger of any continued, unchecked growth of Nazism and Fascism and that this country is quite determined to have Argentina for the Argentines.

Source: Press;
Personal contacts.

Lester Baker
Lester Baker, Col. Inf.,
Military Attaché.

Original & 4 copies airmailed Apr. 6th.
Confirmation copy by steamer Apr. 9th.



AIR MAIL

G-2 Report.

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APR 19 1938

CONFIDENTIAL
WALL INTL. DIV.

2657-L-72

19

3020-f.

ARGENTINA - Political.

Subject: Stability of Government;
Nazi activity arouses Argentina.

Ref: Report 5774(3020-f) April 4th. RECEIVED 2 W. D. APR 16 1938

The Nazi school scandal has been taken seriously by the Argentine Government which is taking steps to put an end to Hitlerite interference in Argentina, which includes, according to some sources, a wide espionage system enabling local agents of the German Government to undertake ruthless persecution of whoever dares to disobey the Fuehrer's orders.

Events moved quickly on April 7th when a petition signed by Argentine legislators representing practically all political parties was presented to the Federal Courts for the trial of all members of the German-Austrian Association, organizers of the plebiscite in Argentina. On the same day the German Embassy here issued a statement denying that a plebiscite is being held "for obvious technical reasons which made it impossible for the community to vote on a vessel on the high seas".

In the petition to the Courts, the legislators, who represent such diverse political groups as Conservative, Socialist, Radical and Bloquista, asked not only for the trial of the members of the German-Austrian Association but also the closure of all premises of Nazi entities connected with the event and the suspension of the Hitlerite demonstration to be held at Luna Park on April 10th. The petitioners stated that if such political mobilization of a foreign community was allowed the time might come when such organizations would have the support of their home governments, by force if necessary, in this country.

The petition was based on Article 219 of the Penal Code which provides prison sentences of from one to six years for "whoever rendered the inhabitants liable to attacks or reprisals against their persons or property".

In a press interview here, Governor Vanasco of the Territory of Misiones revealed that he had called the attention of the National Government to the Nazi menace in 1937. On that occasion he had reported the closing of the "Casa Parda" in El Dorado by his order in view of its political nature and the open manner in which it engaged in pro-Nazi activities. He said that 85% of the inhabitants of Misiones are foreigners, Poles, Ukrainians, Swiss, Germans and Brazilians of German and Italian descent.

The indignation aroused over the revelations of the conduct of the German schools has caused the Minister of Justice and Public Instruction, Dr. Coll, to announce his intention of conducting a thorough investigation into the affair. Should the allegations be proved, he said, the Government will not allow Argentine-born children to be educated in the conviction that they are foreigners.

Although the German Embassy denies, as stated above, that any plebiscite is being held, other sources state that employees of German and Austrian firms have been furnished cards with which to enter the voting precincts; these cards will there be stamped and must be turned in to the firms or else the employee will be dismissed.

From M/A Argentina.

Report No. 5776.

April 8, 1938.

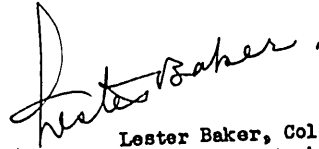
3020-f.

G-2 Report.

"Critica", local afternoon newspaper of wide circulation throughout Argentina, publishes full details of how the Germans and Austrians resident in this country must vote at the plebiscite to approve Hitler's annexation of Austria. "The plebiscite now being held in Argentina" the newspaper states, "is to reach its climax in a Nazi meeting announced for April 10th. And unless they wish to lay themselves open to every form of persecution local Germans and Austrians must register at one or another of a number of polling stations installed throughout the country in German business houses, schools, clubs, etc., all under Nazi control".

Some days ago the Argentine Government denied authority for the local Nazis to charter ships in which local Germans and Austrians could be taken outside territorial waters to cast their ballots - as was done in other Latin American countries, notably in Brazil.

Source: As stated.



Lester Baker, Col. Inf.,
Military Attaché.

Original & 4 copies airmailed April 9th.
Confirmation copy by steamer April 9th.

AIR MAIL

NO OBJECTION TO PUBLICATION
IN SERVICE JOURNALS.

5-1

APR 31 1938

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MAIL DEL. DIV.

2657-672

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DEPARTMENT
3,020-f.

C-2 Report.

ARGENTINA - Political.

Subject: Stability of Government;
German Nazi Activities in Argentina.

Ref: Report # 5776(3020-f) April 8th.

RECEIVED 22 APR 20 1938

On April 10, 1938, 18,000 Germanic residents of Buenos Aires and vicinity gathered at Luna Park (large amusement pavilion) for a monster meeting celebrating the ratification by plebiscite of Austria's incorporation into the German Reich. At the rear of the speaker's stand was a huge banner many yards square on which was lettered in German script the expression: "One people, one country, one leader", so that when the multitude gave the Nazi salute it was virtually swearing allegiance to Hitler and the Fatherland. The plebiscite carried on in Argentina was organized by the Austro-German Association.

The Germans were granted permission by the local authorities. On the other hand, although a group organized by the Argentine University Federation was permitted to place a wreath of flowers on the statue of San Martin in the park of the same name, no crowds were allowed to witness the ceremony, (and no speeches were allowed) which was to be a protest against the Hitlerite meeting at Luna Park.

Over 200 police surrounded the Luna Park Building with protection while an equal number of mounted police kept everybody, except the committee with the wreath of flowers, out of Plaza San Martin.

Luna Park was crowded to its capacity. Some Germans did not get in - there are 65,000 Germans in the Federal capital and its suburbs, according to the German Embassy, which presided at the meeting.

Approximately 80 persons were arrested, several injured, and two killed - one of these latter for giving the Nazi salute before a group of students, and the other an old man returning from Mass was run over by fleeing students and mounted police - as a result of various student anti-Nazi demonstrations which took place throughout the capital while the Nazi meeting was taking place at Luna Park.

Gangs of persons, mostly students or young men, roamed about the center of the city singing the Argentine National Anthem but often exhibited the raised fist salute of Communists. They tore down many Nazi flags - Swastika - flown by German business houses and broke the show windows in them.

The mounted police who are very efficient road down and dispersed all crowds everywhere. By early afternoon the city was as quiet as it is always on Sunday afternoons.

REMARKS:

The Radical Party is said to have broken up and formed a youth movement of true radicals. They call themselves the "Forja Organization". It is a youth movement to protect democracy in South America, anti-Fascist and anti-Nazi - pro-democrat - with headquarters at 1600 or 1400 Calle Callao. It is not known at the present time if the Communists have had a hand in the making of this new neucleus of political organizations.

Source: Personal observation
and contacts.

Original & 4 copies airmailed Apr. 13th.
Confirmation copy by steamer Apr. 16th.

Lester Baker
Lester Baker, Col. Inf.,
Military Attaché.

From M/A Argentina.

Report No. 5781.

April 12, 1938.

NO OBJECTION TO PUBLICATION
IN SERVICE JOURNALS

6-1
JUN 18 1938
2657-172
21
WAS DEPARTMENT

G-2 Report.

2,500-b.

ARGENTINA - Population and Social Conditions.

Subject: Education;
Government Forbids Foreign Propaganda
in Foreign Schools.

RECEIVED G/2 W. D. JUN 13 1938

11417
Following a report on Nazi propaganda in foreign schools (see I.G. 3020-f, Reports #5774 & #5776) the Argentine Government has issued a decree prohibiting political or racial propaganda in all foreign schools. The teaching of principles and ideals contrary to the Constitution of Argentina and its laws are forbidden, and every school must display in prominent places the Argentine flag, pictures of national heroes, maps, etc. Lessons must include teaching of the language of the country, its history, geography and the study of the Constitution.

After the promulgation of the decree on May 9, 1938, which followed closely on the report of Nazi schools in La Pampa by the inspector of education, a "friendly warning" was given to the heads of foreign schools in the Federal Capital that they should keep well within the limits set; this was given by the Inspector General of Private Schools, Señor Benito Vacarezza, in a special meeting of foreign school teachers. He also told the teachers that by next year they would have to devote three hours and twenty minutes daily to teaching in the Spanish language in all schools.

REMARKS.

All right-thinking foreigners in Argentina will applaud this decree of the Government and whole-heartedly carry it out in their schools.

Source: Local press.

Lester Baker

Lester Baker, Col. Inf.,
Military Attaché.

Original & 5 copies mailed May 21st.

MAIL
G-2 Report.

RESTRICTED

5-1-2657-L-72
22
3,850-b.

ARGENTINA - Political.

Subject: Attitude Toward Pan-Americanism;
Argentine Intentions at Lima Conference.

Fernando Ortiz Echagüe, veteran correspondent of La Nacion of Buenos Aires who has served that paper for many years as head of its Paris Bureau, is accompanying the Argentine delegation to the Lima Conference and from Valparaiso on December 1, 1938, he sent an illuminating dispatch of the Argentine position at the coming conference

Echagüe writes: "Foreign Minister Cantilo carries in his person a firm decision of solidity and independence. The interest awakened in and out of the Continent by the Lima Conference is partly due to the sensationalist rumors which circulated recently and which attributed to President Roosevelt the intention of taking bold initiatives which apparently disagree with what has been considered the true Pan-American spirit. If these sensationalist rumors be true, Pan-Americanism would easily be towed by the White House towards new political forms with a tendency of modifying the relations of the American countries with the Old World. These relations have been inspired in most cases, especially Argentine, more by mutual commercial interests than by political analogy.

"These prospects - contrary to the interests of national economy - have awakened suspicions in some sectors of Argentine opinion and I believe it convenient to clarify the situation: Foreign Minister Cantilo has not the least intention of modifying traditional Argentine policy. Moreover, he does not believe the American delegation to Lima brings the intentions attributed to it. Washington's desire to give Europe the impression of a strong and united America is in itself an assurance to Cantilo that Washington will not place the other participants of the Conference in the choice of abandoning the historical course or breaking American solidarity.

"It is probable that the Brazilian Government's wishes - justified by recent happenings - in face of Nazi propaganda in its territory will be to wave the phantom of continental danger in the face of the Conference. In any case, this problem, if existent, does not represent the same danger for us, and although the Argentine delegation does not ignore the risk of certain propagandas, it is far from believing it is dangerous or near enough to change the traditional lines of conduct of Argentina's foreign policy or to show a marked tendency for certain political forms of determined countries. Europe's uncertain situation dictates the cautious manner in which our delegates will proceed in Lima. Everything that will mean the strengthening of principles and renewing of American solidarity will be fully approved and supported by Argentina, which is ready to maintain and strengthen, if possible, the doctrine expressed two years ago in Buenos Aires. But if the question arose of subscribing to pacts and treaties by which Argentina would be forced to give up certain attributes of political character, or sacrifice functions of government, then our delegates might be obliged to show their disapproval."

REMARKS.

The author of the above besides being an international press figure is also a member of the Argentine Nationalist Party. The

From M/A Argentina.

Report No. 5908.

December 2, 1938.

- 2 -

G-2 Report.

3,850-b.

dispatch translated above shows the feeling and opinion of the wealthy class of Argentines towards any alliance which might endanger Argentina's English wheat and meat market.

Source: As stated.

Lester Baker

Lester Baker, Col. Inf.,
Military Attaché.

Original & 4 copies airmailed Dec. 3rd.
Confirmation by steamer Dec. 3rd.

AIR MAIL

RECEIVED
IN
JAN 17 1939

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NAVY DEPARTMENT

G-2 Report.

3,850-e.

ARGENTINA - Political.

Subject: Foreign Relations; Pan Latinism;
Press Criticises U.S.-Brazil Accord.

RECEIVED
JAN 17 1939

"La Prensa", largest and most independent daily in South America, published in Buenos Aires, commenting on the accord reached a few days ago in Washington between the government of the United States and that of Brazil through its foreign minister, Oswaldo Aranha, and the proposal that South American countries may have naval craft built in U.S. navy yards, sees a threat to Argentina.

Although not as large in area as Brazil, and having only about one-fourth Brazil's population, Argentina has for years deemed herself the real spokesman of South America. When, comparatively recently, there was a proposal in the United States to lease obsolescent American destroyers to Brazil there was a strong protest from Argentina and the idea was dropped.

Commenting on the Brazilian accord and the rearmament idea "La Prensa" says editorially on March 16, 1939: "Is there a grave peril menacing all America which it is necessary to combat? We do not see across the oceans any menace either immediate or remote which could be capable of causing alarm. It is strange that from the north comes the observation that our country possesses a fleet stronger than all neighbors of this hemisphere except the United Statesthat we have common friends and this attitude(U.S.) appears to provoke rivalries where none exist.

"We ask if this is pan Americanism which we have heard of through solemn doctrines and declarations or is it an opportunityto call attention to the plan of Argentina for its armaments, which, when adopted, caused no restlessness and which did not reveal any aggressive intentions against anyone, but was merely an adequate plan for defensive resources of the country due to a considerable increase in its economic interests.

"Motive is not lacking to believe that this series of episodes defines another thing very distinctly, to open the way for an armament politics, although founded on presumptions for peril outside the continent, to initiate through alarms and disconfidence destined to divide us and separate us from each other, instead of contributing to brotherly cooperation between our democracies."

Source: As stated.

Lester Baker

Lester Baker, Col. Inf.,
Military Attaché.

Original & 4 copies airmailed Mar. 18th.
Confirmation copy by steamer Mar. 17th.

6-1 2657-L-72

24
3,850-b.

G-2 Report.

ARGENTINA - Political.

Subject: Foreign Relations;
Attitude Toward Pan Americanism.

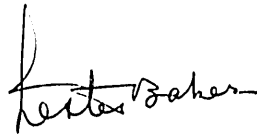
(Ref. Comments on M/A Reports, Nov. 22, 1939).

The attitude of the Argentine Government is not very favorable toward Pan Americanism. The main reason for this attitude being the fear of a predominating influence of the United States.

Argentine opinion is more in favor of a Latin American union than Pan Americanism, as in this field Argentina hopes to predominate, whereas Pan Americanism would always present the superior influence of the United States, to which Argentina does not wish to submit.

This is a feeling which is always latent, although it is not publicly manifested. [Argentine diplomatic policy, as shown in the conference at Panama, is to assume as far as is possible the leadership in South American affairs.]

Source: Personal contacts.



Lester Baker,
Colonel, Infantry,
Military Attaché.

Original & 5 copies airmailed Feb. 21st.

G-2 Report.

6-1 2657-L-72

25
3,850-c.

ARGENTINA - Political.

Subject: Foreign Relations;
National Reaction Toward Monroe Doctrine.

(Ref. Comments on M/A Reports, Nov. 22, 1939).

Argentina has always been against the Monroe Doctrine, as, in the opinion of Argentine political leaders, it implies tutelage which they are unwilling to accept.

This feeling has never changed through the years, and lately has been enhanced by the failure of the United States to accept the sanitary convention in relation to Argentine produce, the general United States attitude toward Argentine imports into that country.

Source: Personal contacts.

Lester Baker
Lester Baker,
Colonel, Infantry,
Military Attaché.

Original & 5 copies airmailed Feb. 21st.

6-1 2657-6-72

26

3,850-d.

G-2 Report.

ARGENTINA - Political.

Subject: Foreign Relations;
Attitude Toward League of Nations.

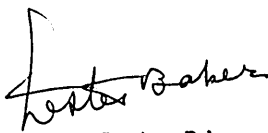
RECEIVED W. A. R. 1940

(Ref. Comments on M/A Reports, Nov. 22, 1939).

The attitude of the Argentine Government toward the League of Nations has always been a benevolent one. This is due to the fact that the League has always been considered here as a counterbalance to the Monroe Doctrine. This feeling has increased lately on account of the acceptance by the League of the Argentine proposition for the expulsion of Russia from that body.

Also, and in connection with this friendly feeling toward the League, is the principal ideal of Argentine foreign policy in supporting Pan Latinism as against Pan Americanism with a view of eliminating as far as possible the influence of North America in the affairs of South America.

Source: Personal contacts.


Lester Baker,
Colonel, Infantry,
Military Attaché

Original & 5 copies airmailed Feb. 21st.